End of the Two-Party System? *Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — June 5, 1971, 50 cents

The Great American Land Grab

Peter Barnes

Cheops in Texas —*John Osborne*

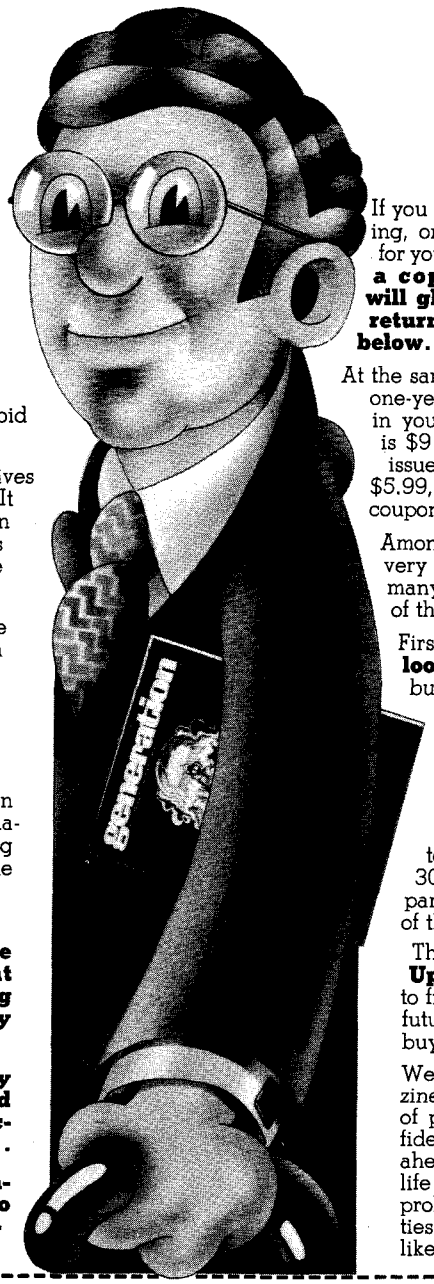
Bailing Out Pakistan —*Rehman Sobhan*

Blacks and Nixon —*The Editors*

NEWSPAPER
44017
NR BLD7 C009 I 1071
BALDWN WLCE COLL
RITTER LIB PRD
BEREA OHIO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If You are a Young Executive We Invite You to Accept a Copy of Generation—FREE



generation is a monthly magazine edited for young executives. That's why we think you will be interested in seeing a copy free, and in subscribing after you see it, at a $3.01 savings!

Business is changing dramatically—new technologies, new methods, new opportunities—and you, the young executive, are in the right place at the right time to take advantage of it. That is, if you know what the changes are and avoid the mistakes other young businessmen have made.

generation is published to help young executives understand and adjust to today's business life. It shows you, with personal stories, what other men are doing. It examines the problems a man faces early in his business career, and it showcases the opportunities in business for young men.

For example, one issue told the story of Jerome Castle, 33-year-old president of the $300-million Penn-Dixie Cement Company—who believes that "Management Is Like Running Race Horses." In an age of decentralized management he breaks all the rules, runs a centralized one-man operation, and makes it work.

In the same issue, "The Decision Room" was an eye-opening report on a new management-information technique more and more companies are using to give their executives the facts they need to make intelligent decisions.

Recent issues have carried stories about:
. . . stress on the top men . . . how "Executive Shock" is reaching into middle management . . . and the disease of civilization is costing business far too much as executives fall by the wayside.

. . . corporate politics and whether "To Play or Not to Play" . . . the good side and the bad side . . . the way to use office politics constructively . . . for yourself and your company . . .

. . . and lots of other interesting and informative articles . . . like what's happening to franchising . . . consumerism and the business world . . . the executive compensation package and how it's changing.

generation is not a how-to-do-it publication. It never tells its readers what toothpaste to use, how to comb their hair, or gives them the 10 magic steps to the corporate pinnacle. More than 100,000 young executives read **generation** because it shows them business trends through the actions, thoughts, expectations, motivations and disillusionments of other young businessmen. We feature no puff pieces. The magazine reveals how things really are in business—not what they seem to be.

If you are under 40 and in management, engineering, or sales, chances are **generation** is written for you. **The best way to find out is to examine a copy without cost or obligation. We will gladly send you one if you fill out and return the Free Copy Reservation coupon below.**

At the same time, we will be most happy to reserve a one-year (10 issues) subscription to **generation** in your name. The regular price of **generation** is $9 for 10 issues. However, you can have 10 issues—including your sample copy—all for only $5.99, a $3.01 savings, simply by returning the coupon.

Among those 10 issues, you will receive three very special annual issues which by themselves, many businessmen tell us, are worth the price of the subscription.

First, **"The Employment and Salary Outlook"** issue, which contains a special survey of business that reveals what salaries will be paid in the coming year by more than 200 leading American companies for engineers, M.B.A.s, college graduates, salesmen, management people and others.

Second, an issue on **"The Emerging Corporations"** that tells, not about the top 500 blue-chip companies, but about the 300 younger, smaller, faster-growing companies that are emerging as the big winners of the '70s.

Third, an issue featuring a **"Guide for Start-Up Businesses."** It explains how and where to find sources of venture capital, discusses the future of franchising, tells what to look for when buying another company.

We think **generation** is a special kind of magazine and it is definitely written for a special kind of person. It you are a young executive confidently expecting bigger things in the years ahead, we believe **generation** will suit your life style, will shed interesting light on your problems and opportunities, and on the activities of your peers, the other men in business like yourself.

In short, we think you will find **generation** stimulating, interesting and exciting!

But that's for you to decide, after you look at your free sample issue.

To secure it and to reserve the next nine issues of **generation** for only $5.99, just fill out and return the Free Copy Reservation coupon to **generation**, 444 N. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610.

FREE COPY RESERVATION

Send me a FREE copy of **generation** without cost or obligation. At the same time, reserve in my name nine additional issues of **generation** for only $5.99 ($3.01 less than the regular subscription price). After examining my FREE copy, I may return the invoice you will send marked "cancel." Otherwise I will pay only $5.99 and you will send me the remaining nine issues.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Company Name

No. of Employees: ☐ less than 100 ☐ 100-499 ☐ 500-999 ☐ 1000 or more

Send To:
GENERATION/444 N. La Salle St./Chicago, Ill. 60610 NR 671

Please check the boxes which best describe your position and firm's activity.

MY JOB FUNCTION IS:
- ☐ Administrative
- ☐ Purchasing
- ☐ Marketing/Sales
- ☐ Data Processing
- ☐ Accounting
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Production
- ☐ Other

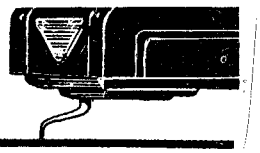
Please specify

MY FIRM IS ENGAGED IN:
- ☐ Accounting
- ☐ Communications
- ☐ Consulting
- ☐ Construction
- ☐ Data Processing
- ☐ Finance/Insurance
- ☐ Manufacturing
- ☐ Transportation
- ☐ Utilities
- ☐ Wholesale/Retail
- ☐ Other

Please specify

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waxing verbal



an unprecedented selection of spoken records now available to New Republic readers

7. F.D.R. SPEAKS
Set of 6 LPs **$7.95**

10. SONGS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR
Pete Seeger & Woody Guthrie
2 LPs **$11.90**

15. BERTRAND RUSSELL
Life, Love, etc. **$6.50**

23. POEMS OF R. M. RILKE
Read in German by Lotte Lenya **$6.50**

31. THE LOVE POEMS OF JOHN DONNE
Read by Richard Burton **$6.50**

34. THE INVESTIGATOR
CBC satire on Joseph McCarthy **$5.98**

35. DYLAN THOMAS
Reading his complete recorded poetry 2 LPs **$13.00**

38. TOM LEHRER—THAT WAS THE YEAR THAT WAS **$4.98**

39. MARK TWAIN TONIGHT
Hal Holbrook **$5.95**

58. BIBLE AND THE SCHOOLS
Justice William O. Douglas **$4.98**

61. BERTOLT BRECHT BEFORE THE HUAC
Historical encounter **$6.50**

73. LENNY BRUCE
Berkeley Concert—Uncut **$6.95**

79. LAST POETS
Contemporary Negro Poetry **$4.98**

97. DICK GREGORY
The Light Side: The Dark Side
2 LPs **$11.95**

121. WAR OF THE WORLDS
Original Radio Broadcast **$5.95**

127. MALCOLM X
His Wit and Wisdom **$4.99**

156. MALCOLM X TALKS TO YOUNG PEOPLE **$4.99**

209. LENNY BRUCE
From Lenny Bruce's private tape stash **$4.98**

269. BEGATTING OF THE PRESIDENT
By Orson Welles **$4.98**

270. GINSBERG'S THING
With First Party at Ken Keesey's With Hell's Angels **$4.98**

273. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
Why I Oppose The War in Vietnam **$4.98**

274. TOM LEHRER
Dixie, Dope, Harvard, Be Prepared **$4.98**

295. STAN FREBERG'S UNITED STATES OF AMERICA **$5.95**

301. FLEURS DU MAL—BAUDELAIRE
Read by Louis Jordan and Eva La Gallienne—in French **$6.50**

377. E. E. CUMMINGS
Read by the Poet **$6.50**

403. W. E. B. DuBOIS—AUTO-BIOGRAPHY
"The Early Years" **$6.50**

410. EDUCATION AND RETURN OF H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N
Read by Leo Rosten **$6.50**

558. MARSHALL McLUHAN
The Medium is The Massage **$4.95**

600. DOROTHY PARKER
Story "Horsie" and 26 bittersweet poems—Read by the poet **$6.50**

643. LE PETIT PRINCE
by Saint-Exupery—read in French **$4.98**

666. TOM LEHRER
Poisoning the Pigeons, The Bomb, Masochism **$4.98**

695. PORTRAIT OF ADLAI STEVENSON
A conversation between Stevenson and Arnold Michaelis **$6.50**

754. RUSSIAN POETRY
Yevtushenko and Voznesensky read in Russian **$5.95**

868. DICK GREGORY
Crime, Spiro Agnew, The Draft, C.I.A., White Christians **$4.98**

871. GEORGE WALD
Speech at M.I.T. **$6.50**

878. THE WIT AND WISDOM OF WILL ROGERS
Set of 2 LPs **$13.00**

881. NORMAN THOMAS REMINISCES **$6.50**

882. LISTENING TO RICHARD BRAUTIGAN
Trout Fishing in America, In Watermelon Sugar, The Pill Versus the Springhill Mine Disaster **$4.98**

883. I CAN HEAR IT NOW—THE 60s
Walter Cronkite—3 LPs **$10.00**

884. WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS
Read by Yeats, McKenna and MacLiammoir **$6.50**

885. S. J. PERELMAN READING
And Thou Beside Me, The Sweeter The Tooth **$6.50**

890. REVOLUTIONARY SPEECHES AND POEMS OF IRELAND
Read by MacLiammoir **$6.50**

WAXING VERBAL (New Republic)
1244 - 19th Street, N.W., Dept. WV
Washington, D.C. TNR0605

Please send the records whose numbers I have circled below.

7	10	15	23	31	34	35
38	39	58	61	73	79	97
121	127	156	209	269	270	273
274	295	301	377	403	410	558
600	643	666	695	754	868	871
878	881	882	883	884	885	890

I enclose $_____ plus 30c for postage and handling. (Add 10c for each additional selection.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____

Zip Code_____

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. and at additional mailing offices

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

Noncandidate Kennedy

He reads fast, with emotion, even passion, broadening his A's. He has regular features, a handsome face that, at 39, is getting a bit heavy. He pushes the brown hair back over his right temple with a sweep of his hand. Then Teddy Kennedy sits there behind the bench in the big wood-paneled Senate committee room, chin cupped in his hand with right index finger pointed up to his ear, as Otto Kerner, twice governor of Illinois and now judge, quietly tells how his commission put together the most penetrating study of racial violence ever written in America, the one that begins: "This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal."

You can't keep your eye off Kennedy. Here is a case where the breath of gossip is actually pushing him toward the presidency. There is every reason for him not to run so soon after that wrong turn at Chappaquiddick, but his very reluctance pushes him forward. Where all the others save George McGovern are mincing words in the effort to wedge themselves into the political center, Kennedy is taking chances that only a noncandidate would take and the boldness promotes him like nothing else. When the Vietnam antiwar veterans camped in the shadow of the Capitol and an angry John Mitchell took his legal effort to oust them right up to the Supreme Court, Kennedy went down to the camp one evening and quietly fraternized. The Justice Department, to its horror, suddenly discovered that it had once more taken the unpopular course and ignominiously asked that its own motion be quashed, which the judge permitted – after giving the Department a brutal tongue-lashing. (It is strange what an almost 100 percent score of mistakes like this Atty. Gen. Mitchell has made!)

Now the topic in the high-ceilinged, cork-floored committee room is a fascinating but arcane one – presidential commissions. Presidents name commissions to sidestep trouble. These bodies could be of enormous value as the Royal Commissions are in England, a sort of fifth branch of government: Executive, Legislative, Judiciary, Regulatory Agencies and free-wheeling Commissions. Since 1960 Presidents have named three or four a year and Mr. Nixon named five in his first year. Then when the report comes out the crisis may be nicely over.

Exaggerated? Take the last four big "social issue" commissions in our time. Kennedy (who sits alone on the bench after stony-faced Strom Thurmond in a red shirt briefly enters, and departs) recites them one by one:

The Katzenbach Commission on crime (named by Lyndon Johnson) helped produce the monumental Safe Streets Act of 1968. It was one of the few implemented.

Kerner Commission on racial riots: it made its 600-page report between the riots of 1967 and those of 1968, and its indictment of "white racism" angered LBJ, who was about to quit anyway.

Violence Commission under Dr. Milton Eisenhower (1969), largely ignored by Mr. Nixon.

Scranton Commission on Campus Violence (1970) pleaded with the President to give "moral leadership"; it was denounced by Spiro Agnew as "pablum for permissivists" and rejected by Mr. Nixon.

Kennedy is speaking and sums up these reports: all four emphasized the need for fair and just law enforcement, and the last three specifically warned against repression. All four urged vast new expenditures on social investment; the last three called for reordering of national priorities, and the last two specifically cited the need to end the Vietnam hemorrhage for tranquility at home.

And what happened? Civil rights progress stifled. (Kennedy's voice deepens with anger.) Social investments cut to the bone "by congressional timidity or presidential veto." Fear of repression fed by federal surveillance, the war continued, effective gun controls omitted even in the Nixon "law and order" agenda. (With two slain brothers, Ted Kennedy will never forget that last; what if he should be the third murdered? He has three children of his own, and there are 13 of the other two.)

Kennedy sees the irony of presidential commissions. There was the testimony that sociologist Kenneth Clark gave to Kerner: there was an inquiry and a learned report after Watts; another after Harlem in 1943; after the earlier 1935 Harlem riot; after the 1919 riot in Chicago. Said Clark: "I must again in candor say to you members of this commission – it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland – with the same moving picture reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations – and the same inaction."

Anyone with a sense of humor can get a chuckle out of the thing! Kennedy notes that the Scranton Commission, which Mr. Nixon appointed, pleaded with officials to refrain from playing "irresponsible politics with the issue of campus unrest" and to avoid insulting actions that would "exacerbate tension and encourage violence." So what happened? It was 1970 and the Administration was making campus unrest its big issue. (Unsuccessful, fortunately.) A month after the report Mr. Nixon in a hostile crowd in San Jose, California, got out and stood on his car and flashed a peace sign: "That's what they hate to see," he chuckled.

The Scranton plea to eliminate "harsh and bitter rhetoric" didn't reach Spiro, of course; and only the other day the attorney general was likening irritating war protestors here to Nazi "brownshirts."

So we come back to the young man taking testimony: the question mark. America has a guilt complex about Kennedy. Mayor Daley is for him. Yet Democratic colleagues dropped him as assistant Senate leader; complained he didn't work at it. He got a college friend to take an exam for him and was rusticated two years ago. In the White House – ? One hat an American President wears is that of high priest: the man your boy should resemble. Kennedy has matured a lot. Make no doubt, he is a powerful, effective figure. And now the Gallup Poll says that – scandal or not – he has passed Muskie, 29 percent to 21 percent, as favorite in 1972 of registered Democrats. . . . The hearing proceeds.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 164, No. 23, Issue 2945, June 5, 1971. Published weekly (except the issues of July 31, August 14 and August 28, 1971) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1971 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

5-7 Comment
Blacks and Mr. Nixon
Down George! Who Needs It?
Marijuana Experts

8 Unlocking the Door
– *Anthony Howard*

9 The Nixon Watch: With Cheops in Texas – *John Osborne*

10 Philadelphia's Banks
– *Ronald Nathan and Robert Lear*

14 Bailing Out Pakistan
– *Rehman Sobhan*

16 Put the Lid On
– *John R. Schmidt and Wayne W. Whalen*

17 Is Bigger Also Better?
– *Richard D. Lamm*

19 The Great American Land Grab
– *Peter Barnes*

24 Books – Reviews by *Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Stanley Kauffmann, Leslie Schaffer, David Halbertstam*

28 Feiffer

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors –
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Donald Canty, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant, Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Lucy Samuelson
Business Manager – Reubena Faulconer
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Blacks and Mr. Nixon

The 117-page White House response to 60 recommendations of the congressional black caucus can be fairly characterized as maximum feasible obfuscation. Having raised questions about apples, the caucus got answers about apple seeds or oranges. The caucus had proposed, first off, a public-service employment program to create 1.1 million jobs. The White House replied that its special revenue-sharing plan would allow (but not direct) federal dollars to be used this way, and that its welfare-reform plan would create 200,000 such jobs. (No mention was made of last year's presidential veto of legislation authorizing public-service jobs.) The caucus found this rejoinder somewhat insufficient. The black jobless rate has remained at 9.4 percent for three straight months. If the 9.4 percent were whites, government would be moving at the speed of light. Moreover, 200,000 jobs, if and when welfare reform is enacted, would accommodate only 20 percent of blacks now counted as unemployed (not including those out of the work force or subemployed) – and only five percent of the recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the principal welfare category the Administration wants Congress to replace.

The caucus further recommended that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission be given "cease and desist" power and that its authority be expanded to cover state and local governments, as well as private employers. The Administration agreed on the expansion but said it preferred to rely on "the procedural safeguards of the court" for enforcement of antidiscrimination laws in employment. This "flat refusal" of new powers, said the black congressmen, leaves EEOC "impotent."

One hundred and fifty million dollars in supplemental funds for public housing are available and have not been used by the Administration: $75 million for production and $75 million for operating assistance to local housing authorities. Why has it not been spent? In reply, the White House invited the congressmen to review indisputable gains in public housing production, with more units started in the period 1968-72 than in the previous decade. The $75 million in production money, said the Administration, would not be used because of overall housing progress in relation to need, and because of "economic constraints on the budget." The caucus found it "difficult

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to comprehend" that the $75 million in operating assistance "will not be needed," since "one of the most critical issues in public housing is the financial condition of housing authorities and their ability to manage and maintain units." Some existing public housing projects stand nearly empty, though hundreds of thousands are on waiting lists; other projects are raising rents to meet mounting deficits.

The caucus also urged that funding of the OEO-originated Community Development Corporations be boosted to $50 million, and that a new federal instrument be created to insure their securities and obligations. No, replied the White House: a $50 million funding level "would mean a substantial increase in the number of CDCs, even though their effectiveness has not yet been determined." And a new guarantee instrument, it said, "would stigmatize CDCs as unable to compete with other firms in existing capital markets and government-backed loan programs and would be contrary to this administration's policy of opposing the establishment of permanent, narrow-purpose discount facilities."

To certain white audiences, White House spokesmen speak of Mr. Nixon's Family Assistance Plan in terms of "getting people off welfare rolls and onto payrolls," lacing this pitch with Reagan-reassuring implications that the welfare rolls are swollen by loafers. But in its response to the caucus, the White House concentrates on defending the $2400 (family-of-four) income floor in the version of FAP favored by the House Ways and Means Committee. The caucus had asked for a floor of $6500, pointing out that this is still $440 below the amount the Bureau of Labor Statistics deems necessary for such a family to live modestly but decently in metropolitan urban areas, where 70 percent of blacks are. The caucus had also pointed out that $2400 would be ceiling as well as floor under the current version of FAP, and would increase income payment levels for only 10 percent of persons now on welfare. Many of the other 90 percent would face the prospect of an actual reduction of payments, especially since what they now get in food stamps would transfer to state budgets if it brought their total payments above $2400.

The Administration's attack on the proposed $6500 figure carries the most direct statement yet of its unwillingness to alter current spending priorities. Making the most of every variable involving potential numbers of recipients and such items as allowances for supplementary earnings, it puts an annual price tag of $75 billion on a $6500 income floor. Such an expenditure, it says, would require "either a substantial reallocation of funds" or a budget increase "with severe implications for the economy." But that price tag is cut drastically if one simply makes more realistic assumptions about the variables. And if the floor were raised only as far as the government-defined poverty level – the least any nation with a claim to compassion could be expected to do – authoritative private estimates put the cost at about $1 billion more than current welfare expenditures. Some "reallocation of funds" within the warped federal budget would indeed be required, and perhaps an increased tax effort. But the United States has burned up over $100 billion in Indochina, and no one in need in America will believe we can't afford a comparable investment in the health, housing, education and security of our own citizens.

The White House summary of its reply to the caucus puts great stress on the increase in "integrated" Southern school districts, which the caucus had scarcely touched upon. Leaving aside the question of what constitutes integration in a given school district, the progress that has occurred has been at the behest of the courts, with the Administration stating that it will not go one step beyond the latest judicial definition of "the law." The Administration will not precede the courts in acting on *de facto* school segregation in the North and West, which now afflicts millions more black pupils than the *de jure* variety. Nor will it do anything to disturb residential patterns that perpetuate segregation. So while the President says (in regard to South Africa) that "the United States will not condone the violence to human dignity implicit in apartheid," he condones it in metropolitan America.

A decade ago, there were precious few black, elected officials anywhere. Their number has grown since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (an early Administration target) and since the cities have become black enough to elect representatives like those in the congressional caucus and mayors like Stokes, Hatcher and Gibson. Those officials are moving into a national leadership vacuum created by the deaths of Martin Luther King and Whitney Young, the disarray of traditional civil rights organizations, and the generational and ideological divisions besetting black Americans even more grievously than whites. They have a formidable task in persuading the majority or even in informing the public. The press was bored by the whole exchange (*The New York Times* failed to cover the caucus rebuttal to the Administration reply). And the President seemed so little impressed by the intensity of black feelings that he subsequently gave "tentative approval" to the nomination of ex-Rep. Albert Watson of South Carolina, a racist, to the highest US military court. (He backed off last week when he was warned he'd face another Carswell-type fight, or worse, in the Senate.)

On May 23, three members of the caucus were guests on *Meet the Press*. The tenor of questioning reflected the complacency of white Americans. The first question, by Lawrence Spivak, ended: "Is there really anything the President could have said or done that would have satisfied you?" That is about where we stand in this house divided.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Down, George!

The President putting George Wallace in his place last week was something to see and remember. In Mobile, the first of two stops in Alabama on his way home from Texas and Florida, the President made occasion to remark that he was more afraid of "Bear" Bryant, the University of Alabama football coach, than he was of Governor Wallace and (by implication) of any effort that Wallace might make next year to deny Nixon the white vote in the lower South. When Wallace and three other Southern governors were given a ride on Air Force One from Mobile to the second stop in Birmingham, Nixon let them lunch without him and had his spokesman announce that he joined them for casual chitchat only at the end of the trip. In both cities, the large crowds along the motorcade routes were naturally more interested in the President than they were in familiar little George, and they had to notice that the governor was not invited to ride with Nixon in either city. At the Mobile airport, it was Wallace who (literally) saluted Nixon.

When Nixon said in Birmingham that he had "only utter contempt" for Northerners who do nothing about their race problem and expect "those Southerners" to do more than they are doing about theirs, he was challenging George to try and make something of that issue in 1972 and indicating confidence that it's a waning issue. It was clear enough that Nixon isn't about to do any more to revive it than the law and the courts compel him to do by hastening the pace of school desegregation. Nixon, noting in Birmingham that incumbent Presidents seldom visit the lower South, previewed his own intentions and hopes for 1972 when he said with escalating emphasis that Presidents should turn up more than once in 50 years "in Alabama *and* Georgia *and* Louisiana *and* Mississippi." Next they'll be serving fried chicken at the White House.

Who Needs It?

Institutions have their just claims, but is the claim to perpetuity one of them? Bureaucracy often thinks so: there are careers to further, nests to feather. That is the only plausible explanation for the Administration's request that Congress keep alive Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the allegedly private propaganda stations in West Germany which heretofore have been financed through the Central Intelligence Agency. Apparently the CIA cover has worn so thin that the Administration wants to peel it off altogether, subsidize the stations openly, and put them under the control of a nonprofit corporation, the directors of which would be appointed by the President. The cost to taxpayers would be about what it is now, $40 million a year.

Who needs it? That is what quizzical senators were trying to find out at hearings last week when they questioned the State Department's representative, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Martin Hillenbrand. Surely not to encourage revolt in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. What then? If the function of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is to broadcast news and commentary world-wide that is to the liking of the US government, we have the Voice of America. And if VOA broadcasts are not doing the job properly, why not remedy that?

Mr. Hillenbrand was hard-pressed. He preferred to discuss some of these questions in executive session. He did say that "in contrast to international radios which are identified as government agencies, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe are able to report and comment on the domestic affairs of other nations, much as would any commercial medium operating in a democracy." But if these two stations are to be financed openly by the US government and operated by directors appointed by the President of the United States, would they not be "identified as government agencies"?

Marijuana Experts

Two Philadelphia psychiatrists have testified in Washington on the results of their controversial study, published in the *Journal* of the American Medical Association in April, which they believe proves that smoking marijuana is harmful. Drs. William T. Moore and Harold Kolansky studied 38 young patients (13-24) in their private practice over a five-year period. The patients, by their own account, had been well before they started smoking grass. Afterwards, eight of them became psychotic; four attempted suicide. Thirteen unmarried females became sexually promiscuous; seven became pregnant. Is such the likely fate of the 12 to 20 million people Kolansky and Moore believe smoke marijuana?

The two doctors' research has been criticized by other medical professionals. Dr. Solomon H. Snyder, professor of psychiatry and pharmacology at Johns Hopkins, for example, is not convinced that the individuals studied had been psychologically healthy before they started smoking. In any case, the study had not proved that marijuana was the cause of the observed aberrant behavior. Snyder was among the six doctors marshalled by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws to dispute Kolansky and Moore; all of them agreed that the study's methodology and conclusions had been faulty.

Nevertheless, Kolansky and Moore have stuck to their guns, claiming that regular smokers, whatever

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their mental health and emotional stability, are harmed: "Those who are balancing between mental health and illness will lose their balance, and those who are healthy will eventually become symptomatic after prolonged exposure to the toxicity of marijuana."

The AMA billed the Kolansky and Moore study as the first "substantiation by sound medical research . . . in human beings" that marijuana is dangerous. The conclusions were widely publicized and are credible to those who have made up their minds that marijuana is not only injurious in itself but leads as does day to night to worse horrors. One criminal court judge in Florida is said to have been so impressed by Kolansky and Moore's "proof" that he intends from now on to send all marijuana offenders to jail.

The AMA has become *parti pris* in the politics of marijuana. Dr. Lester Grinspoon, the Harvard psychiatrist, contends that the AMA *Journal* accepts for publication only articles that agree with its position. An amply documented article prepared by the Washington State Department of Motor Vehicles, comparing the effects of alcohol and marijuana on driving, which concluded that pot was the lesser hazard of the two, was rejected by the AMA. It was subsequently published by *Science*. Dr. Grinspoon believes there was a causal relationship between the AMA's disapproval of marijuana and the rejection of the manuscript.

Britain in Europe

Unlocking the Door

London

After 10 years of vainly battering at the Common Market door it has in the end all happened so quickly that even now no one can be quite sure of what kind of mood is taking hold in Britain as she faces the prospect of at last entering the European Community. Certainly it is not a mood of excitement or enthusiasm. Relentlessly the polls continue to hammer out their message that, whereas less than a quarter of the electorate now supports the idea of Britain joining the Common Market, almost two-thirds still oppose it. Why then, after Mr. Heath's successful "summit" with M. Pompidou in Paris, are the Brussels negotiations now spoken of even by their opponents as being "doomed to success"? One answer is that the pro and anti scores in the pollsters' charts by no means tell the whole story. For if they are asked to confess not what they think *should* happen but rather what they believe *will* happen, British voters by a majority of three-to-one admit that it looks to them as if they are going to be railroaded into Europe, regardless. From the beginning this has provided the nation's highly determined, pro-European Tory prime minister with his secret weapon. Although he sometimes seems almost deliberately deaf to public opinion, he is enough of a realist to know that the European cause is no longer popular (it was not made any more so last week by M. Pompidou's remark on British television that French must be the official language of the Community; English would not do as "it is the language of the United States.") But if Mr. Heath knows that there is today no public enthusiasm for British entry into Europe, he also knows something else: that there is equally no real popular resistance. In going to Paris and courting the charge of bowing the knee to M. Pompidou, it was on that knowledge that he gambled, and gambled pretty shrewdly. For the bleak truth is that the British have been so knocked about in the post-war world that they have even ceased to regard themselves as masters of their own fate. The fact that they have, as it were, contracted out of probably the most important political decision to be made this century may not say much for the health of British democracy. But it is convenient for Mr. Heath.

Not that Heath is home-and-dry yet. The present timetable may envisage that the two negotiating sessions with the Six due this month will virtually tie the whole deal up. But it is only when the package is brought home that the real battle will begin. Mr. Heath will need to sell it to Parliament and then, if only for the sake of his own political survival, see to it that it gets some form of welcome from the ranks of his own party in the country. The shade of the reforming 19th century prime minister, Sir Robert Peel, is a fairly substantial one in Tory memory. True, he *did* repeal the corn laws, but the price was a mortal split in the Tory Party, driving it into the wilderness for more than 20 years.

Could the same fate threaten Mr. Heath? There are influential men at the top of the opposition Labour Party who have already mapped out such a future for him. They admit that the prime minister will – amid a sense of relief that at last something has succeeded – probably manage to get the House of Commons to endorse whatever bargain is eventually made with the Six, possibly even in a full-dress parliamentary debate as early as July. But the initial White Paper debate, they point out, is merely the beginning of a long, drawn out parliamentary process: there will have to follow a whole welter of enabling legislation in which the small print in the contract will come under increasingly critical examination. It is to this that Mr. Heath's rival for the nation's leadership – Harold Wilson – is pinning all his hopes. As the sensitive issues come up for individual debate – New Zealand, Britain's gradually rising contribution to the Common Agricultural Policy, the threat to the future of the sugar-producing countries in the Third World – he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sees Mr. Heath's already slender parliamentary majority of 30 peeling away until finally it disappears.

At that moment, Mr. Wilson has confided to his intimates, he will strike. He will forcibly remind the prime minister of last year's pledge by the Conservative Party that a Tory government would never take Britain into Europe without the support of Parliament and the people and demand that he either drop the scheme or call an election so that the public can make its views known. So delighted is Mr. Wilson with his own scenario that he has recently taken to saying that he fully expects to be back sleeping in Downing Street.

Is all this further proof of what Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times* a couple of weeks ago unkindly called Mr. Wilson's "gift for self-delusion"? Certainly it leaves out one rather important factor – the disagreeable personal impression that any such tactics employed by Mr. Wilson will leave on small but influential sections of the British public (not least the opinion formers in the press and the other media who, almost to a man, see no future for Britain outside Europe). Mr. Wilson, who is still maintaining that he is in favor of British entry in principle and wishes only to make sure that "the terms are right," will need to play his hand very carefully if his credibility is not to be destroyed. He may himself honestly believe that once restored to the premiership he could singlehandedly renegotiate British entry on more advantageous terms. The trouble is that the public has ceased to share his Walter Mitty vision of himself.

So what are the real prospects for what government spokesmen are starting to call the Great European Adventure? Ahead are 18 nervous months for Mr. Heath. His government, as the local elections showed last month with their landslide to Labour, has already achieved an all-time record in the speed with which it has acquired massive unpopularity. His parliamentary followers are far from all sharing his European passion. Even the most ardent Marketeers in the Labour Party are not going to use their votes in the House of Commons to save him from defeat on the European issue. In such circumstances to steer Britain into Common Market membership by the target date of January 1, 1973 is going to require a steadfastness of purpose and a disregard for electoral consequences that is unusual among politicians. But then Mr. Heath – in his stubbornness, his insensitivity, his armor-plated belief in his own judgment – is scarcely a usual politician. A year ago when he became Prime Minister I reported my impression that he was only really interested in getting the key of Number 10 in order to unlock the further door to Europe. Nothing that has happened since, least of all the high-risk gamble he took with his trip to Paris to confront Pompidou in the Elysée, has caused me to modify that assessment.

Anthony Howard

The Nixon Watch

With Cheops in Texas

Austin

While Mr. Nixon spoke at the dedication of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and School of Public Affairs on the University of Texas campus, emitting platitudes that he had tried out a few days earlier on a group of visiting politicians at the White House, LBJ put on a classic Johnsonian performance in his seat to the President's rear and left. A beholder was reminded of Johnson at the Democratic convention in 1964, stealing the show while Hubert Humphrey accepted the nomination for the Vice Presidency. The performance this time was not so blatant, not at all in the wretched taste of the antics in Atlantic City. This was Johnson's day and he was entitled to claim every moment of it for himself. But one perceived that the big man in the tan suit hadn't changed very much in the 28 months since Richard Nixon followed him in the White House and had every portable relic of the Johnson presence – desk, news tickers, TV sets – ejected overnight from the Oval Office. Johnson in retirement had let himself run to fat: when he escorted President and Mrs. Nixon to the library, and later to the platform on a lawn in front of it, and when he moved in triumph among his 3000 guests on the adjacent grounds, he walked with the slow and cautious waddle of a compulsive eater who has allowed his torso to grow too heavy for his ankles. Seated and enduring his successor's droned cliches, however, he was altogether the remembered and unchanging LBJ, a figure in scale with the monumental marble pile of the library looming behind him and Nixon.

As the President began ("honored to be here, deep in the heart of Texas"), Johnson hunkered on his chair, hands on his thighs, glancing downward and to his right, away from Nixon, a look of sardonic amusement commanding the notice of all who watched the spectacle. His expression invited the unseemly thought that he might have been dreaming up and relishing another of the scatological references to some aspects of Nixon domestic policy that guests at the round of dedication parties gleefully attributed to him. He squirmed; he fidgeted. He reached for a jacket pocket and snatched his hand back to rest upon his thigh. When the President quoted Albert Beveridge, a turn of the century senator and orator from Indiana, to the rather foggy effect that "the partisan of principle is a prince of citizenship," Johnson looked as if he had read the advance text and knew what was coming. He gazed at the low clouds overhead, then at the magnificent stand of trees on a hilltop opposite his library, and again at the clouds. Toward the dreary end he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaned right and left, peering past Nixon and grimacing genially at friends and associates from his great days who were there by the hundreds to evoke their great days with him.

At the very end, when Nixon approached his mercifully final reference to "partisans of principle," Johnson fell into vigorous and visibly admonitory converse with Frank C. Erwin, Jr., a rich Texan who until recently was chairman of the university regents and presided at the ceremonies. Erwin introduced Julie and David Eisenhower and the Johnson daughters, with their husbands and children, and the Johnson face glowed with utter delight when Luci Johnson Nugent held up his grandson, "Little Lyn." It was, one judged, the first moment that Johnson had wholly enjoyed since he finished his own speech, a short and gracious promise that the 31 million documents in his library will in time (it will be a long, long time) disclose the truth "with the bark off" about his career and his presidency.

Erwin, Johnson, Nixon and the Texas Democratic Party's gift to the Nixon Administration, Treasury Secretary John Connally, kept their heads bowed in assumable approval when the Reverend George Richard Davis of Washington, DC, a mousey man in black who was seated on the platform beside Vice President Agnew, called down God's benediction "upon this great university, not as yet frozen in the glacier of pseudointellectualism." Agnew was seen to address Davis very warmly indeed when he returned to his seat. His reference was one of several indicators of the campus tensions which have resulted in part from the restrictive policies of the Erwin faction on the board of regents and have caused the flight of some of the university's faculty stars. Black balloons launched by antiwar students scudded overhead while the Reverend Billy Graham, who had flown to Austin on the President's plane, rapped out his steely thanks to God for giving the nation two such leaders as Johnson and Nixon. Several hundred students and other protesters, barred from the dedication area by police, raised a racket during the ceremonies and perpetrated some minor trashing after Nixon left.

The reporters who accompanied Nixon and others, veterans of Johnson's White House who had been invited as his guests, were inclined to minimize the signs of strain and settle for the verdict that it was a memorable and unique day. They were right: even the huge library building and School of Public Affairs beside it turned out upon inspection not to be the vulgar excesses that some news accounts had depicted. No doubt the library, its solid marble walls curving upward from a massive marble base, will continue to be dubbed "Lyndon's Pyramid." But it fits him and Texas and the rolling campus land. This visitor found himself unable to begrudge LBJ the millions of university dollars that went into it and the million or so of federal money that it will cost annually to administer. The test will be whether Johnson in his remaining lifetime is fair and generous in his grant of access to the documentary treasures and trivia it contains. Law and the National Archives are supposed to govern access to presidential libraries, but the ex-Presidents for whom the libraries are built are in fact the controllers while they live and Johnson will have to be more generous than Harry Truman has been in Missouri if scholars are to be content with the LBJ Library. Johnson probably will be generous. It was announced at the ceremony that he and Lady Bird contributed some $2 million of their money to the library's cost. He likes to have people, scholars presumably included, in thrall and debt to him.

The reporters with Nixon, watching him depart after his duty was done for a weekend in Key Biscayne and then for a day's politicking in Alabama, speculated among themselves that he must be wondering how to top Lyndon's Pyramid with *his* memorial library. His spokesmen joked, rather uneasily, that he has another five years to ponder that problem. I'd guess that it won't be much of a problem. Nixon is the kind of man and President whose way of topping LBJ will be to call into being an ostentatiously modest library structure pointing up in the time to come the differences between him and LBJ. The differences were apparent in Austin. If Nixon, standing in sober garb at the podium and speaking with deliberate dullness, sensed the act that the big man behind him was putting on, he probably didn't object. He could have welcomed it as a reminder to the audience and to the country that his way of quiet order has its uses after a time of extravagant and, in part, disastrous presidential splendor.

John Osborne

Campaign GM

Philadelphia's Banks

"These are special times. We believe that good corporate citizenship calls for social involvement and imaginative contribution to positive steps that can improve the quality of life for those with whom we come in contact whether directly or indirectly." – Stephen Gardner, chairman of the board of the Girard Bank in Philadelphia in early 1971.

Ringing words. As clear a statement as exists about the reasons for Campaign GM and corporate responsibility. And since neither banks nor the men who run

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them have been particularly responsive to the communities they ostensibly serve, it is even more noteworthy. But Mr. Gardner's remarks are not about Campaign GM or the other corporate responsibility issues confronting corporations today. Rather, Gardner is commenting on Girard's commissioning of an American composer to write a musical work for the Philadelphia Orchestra.

This concept of fulfilling the institution's social responsibilities is typical among banks. Relying nevertheless on numerous statements by banks emphasizing their social commitment as well as progressive speeches by bank officers, Campaign GM began a program in Philadelphia to urge that city's three banks, holding approximately three million shares of General Motors stock, to support Campaign GM's three shareholder proposals.

The proposals were simple: a "disclosure" proposal to provide for an informed electorate by giving shareholders the minimum information needed to judge whether the corporation is meeting its public responsibilities; a proposal on shareholder democracy to permit all shareholders to make nominations and to choose among opposing candidates for director; and a final proposal on constituent democracy to give three of General Motors' most important constituencies – consumers, dealers and employees – representation on the board of directors.

As advocates of the proposals, we felt that they were moderate, reasonable and worthy of institutional support. At the very least we expected that they would be taken seriously and given a fair hearing. For example, the disclosure proposal was clearly consistent with the American Bankers Association's current "commitment" to equal employment opportunity.

Then the fun began. First, we couldn't even arrange a meeting. For a period of two months the Fidelity Bank neither answered our letters nor returned our calls. It was only through the fortuitous intervention of a relative of the Bank's president – the local head of the Americans for Democratic Action – that we were able to arrange a meeting. Other bank officials were "out of the office this week," "in Florida until April 18th," or simply "in conference."

But finally we got meetings – in plush board rooms and offices. The bank officials were always congenial. It was quite clear, however, that neither Girard nor Fidelity intended to vote for an "antimanagement" proposal. Nor would they seriously discuss the substantive merits of the proposals or the possibility of soliciting the views of the beneficial owners of the stock. Rather than simply admitting this basic and apparently unshakable predilection toward management, opposition to the proposals was based on reasoning that was often irrelevant or naive, and usually intellectually indefensible. For example, one high-ranking official stated that his personal "difficulty" with the disclosure proposal was based on his own experience at the bank: "When the Jews knew how many Blacks we hired, they began to pressure us for additional spots all over again."

At times the discussions were worthy of the Mad Hatter. A telephone conversation with a senior vice-president is typical:

Q. Will you include the Campaign GM proxy material when you mail management's proxy to co-trustees and principals of accounts that you administer?
A. No, we wouldn't want to do that.
Q. Why?
A. You've had your day in court.
Q. Will you include in your letters that our material is available from the bank on request?
A. No, we do not want to bother.
Q. Will you say that the material is available from our office?
A. Well, I'll get back to you on that . . . No, that would be too much trouble for you.
Q. When the bank reaches a position on the proposals, will you communicate that decision to us?
A. No, that would be a breach of our fiduciary responsibility to our clients.

Our meetings with Fidelity and Girard were characterized by emphasis on side issues – never any good-faith dialogue on the merits of the proposals. Perhaps this was a result of a suspicion on the part of the bank officers concerning our identity and motives, they being particularly interested if we were "learned in the law." In addition, they always appeared quite defensive, perhaps suspecting that we were only interested in publicly demeaning the institution. One senior vice-president threatened that if his bank's position were misquoted at our press conference, "the doors of the bank will be forever closed to you and your associates." As a result, there were nearly as many representatives of his bank at our press conference as there were reporters.

But there was one notable exception – the First Pennsylvania Bank. At our initial meeting, bank officers were well versed on the particulars of the proposals and the practical problems in implementing our requests. The bank's President, John Bunting, had been urging a wider institutional role in community affairs for the past few years. It was felt that his views on such issues as shareholder democracy were actually more "progressive" than our proposals. In addition, his stand on minority hiring was consistent with a favorable response to the disclosure proposal.

In mid-April we learned that First Pennsylvania would vote its approximately one million shares for the disclosure proposal, thus becoming the first banking institution to lend even limited support to a public interest proxy campaign. The impact was enormous in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the financial community – the ranks had finally been broken, if only a little bit. And it provoked dissension within First Pennsylvania itself. The bank's commercial department voiced understandable concern over the threat by certain corporations to withdraw funds in retaliation for the trust department's favorable vote on the disclosure proposal. Although Bunting stated that there would be no withdrawals, the threats were there. Powerful institutions will focus intense pressure on any member which dares to question management's subjective opinion of its own progress and good faith in the area of corporate responsibility.

So Campaign GM got one out of three in Philadelphia – which turned out to be the only one in the country. And Mr. Bunting and First Pennsylvania will be watching to see if General Motors and others retaliate.

Ronald Nathan & Robert Lear

MR. NATHAN *and* MR. LEAR *are Philadelphia attorneys who were active in Campaign GM II.*

The US and Bangla Desh

Bailing Out Pakistan

by Rehman Sobhan

As Pakistan slides towards disintegration, the United States is being forced to do some fundamental rethinking of a policy dating back to the days of Dulles diplomacy which inaugurated Pak-US relations through a Mutual Security Pact in 1954. Pakistan did well out of the relationship, receiving $1.5-to-2 billion in armaments and $3 billion in economic aid up to 1969. It is less certain what the US got out of it, apart from a U-2 base in Peshawar, since Pakistan never made any bones about the fact that it needed American arms to face India.

The ostensible purpose of this investment, however, was to contain Communism in Southeast Asia and the Middle East and Pakistan was happy to subscribe to this illusion by making anticommunist noises at international forums. While the US sold its aid package to Pakistan in Congress as part of its containment strategy, the pacts were sold in Pakistan as an expedient to get arms to defend the nation against Indian designs. No one on either side sought to question these contrary assumptions until Pakistan actually became embroiled in a shooting war with India in September 1965, when a large quantity of US gifted hardware was seen in action on the plains of the Panjab.

Washington's reaction to this failure of policy was to suspend all arms shipments to both sides, but the denial was far more severely felt in Pakistan where the entire military machine had been geared to the United States. The move soured Pak-US relations which had already been strained by the US decision to send arms to India following the Sino-Indian border war in 1962. Pakistan moves to strengthen ties with China on the assumption that "my enemy's enemy is my friend" had knocked out another key assumption underlying US policy, and the Pak-Indian war merely wrote *finis* to that phase in the relationship.

As history has shown, US arms are far more likely to be used to suppress popular movements at home, than to resist external aggression. The rise of the military whose numbers and strength within Pakistan grew with every shipload of American weapons received gave testimony to this truth. By October 1958 the armed forces under Ayub Khan felt strong enough to take over the country and frustrate the prospects of a genuine return to democracy imminent in the general elections set for early 1959.

While the Pak-Indian war in 1965 led to a suspension of arms shipments to Pakistan, the US continued pumping in economic aid. The emphasis on aggregate growth rates concealed the fact that during the Ayub decade inequalities increased sharply both between social classes and between East and West Pakistan. Disparities in per capita income in favor of West over East Pakistan increased from 32 percent in 1959-60 to 61 percent in 1969-70. This followed from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fact that less than one-third of the development financed by aid, took place in the East, though 55 percent of the population lived there. $2.6 billion worth of resources in the way of East Pakistan's foreign exchange plus its legitimate share of foreign aid were transferred to West Pakistan between 1948-49 and 1968-69. Such policies were possible because power in Pakistan, whether indirectly before 1958 or directly since, rested with the armed forces and bureaucracy which was overwhelmingly drawn from West Pakistan. To the extent that the US underwrote these military regimes, it perpetuated a set of power relationships which permitted the West wing based army-bureaucratic complex to dominate the more numerous East.

The war of liberation now raging in East Pakistan stems from an attempt by the Bengalis to break free of the hegemony of West Pakistan's ruling groups. They thought they could do it within the framework of Pakistan by seeking a loose federal relationship which put all decision-making and resources into the hands of the regions. But this was seen as a threat not only to the captive markets of West Pakistan's inefficient industrialists but as a threat to the westward flow of resources. And to the army it appeared as a menace to their privileged budget: East Pakistani revenues and foreign exchange were vital, particularly since arms had to be bought for cash from the French and other suppliers after the suspension of large scale US arms shipments in 1965. The refusal of the army to come to terms with the peaceful attempt to restructure power relations within Pakistan has now compelled it to use force to suppress the Awami League which won 80 percent of the votes and 98.5 percent of the seats in the East wing on its autonomy platform. Since the entire eastern population of 75 million is united in its support for its elected representatives, the army has had to resort to genocide. Visiting foreign journalists estimate that this has led to over half a million Bengali dead within the first 6 weeks of fighting. It is hardly surprising that a political struggle by East Pakistan for autonomy within Pakistan has been transformed into a full scale war of independence for the creation of Bangla Desh.

The United States remains an uneasy but by no means uninvolved spectator. Its economic aid strategy which favored the west wing has now culminated in a drive for freedom by 55 percent of the population, and the arms Washington gave are being used by the West Pakistani army to crush this drive.

The US is further involved by the recent request from West Pakistan to rescue it from economic catastrophe. All exports from East Pakistan being suspended, Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings are cut by 50 percent and their reserves are expected to be down to zero in another two months. A business recession threatens West Pakistan due to the loss of captive markets and a price inflation of up to 100 percent is imminent because of the drop in production. This plus the loss of all revenues from the East promises that only half of the next Pakistan budget can be financed. A war now costing the improverished economy $2 million a day will have to be financed by creating paper.

In this predicament Pakistan has asked aid donors for up to $1 billion to bail her out. She needs $70 million in commodities aid from the US, plus $100 million as ready cash. A further $300-$400 million will be required by the year's end, just to stay afloat.

How Washington will respond to this request depends on how determined the Americans are to go on compounding their failures in Pakistan. Indications are that the US has bought time to make up its mind and is taking cover behind a World Bank-IMF mission being sent out early this month to look over the situation.

Meanwhile, Pakistan presses for a "political" solution to the war and speaks of the need to get relief to Bengalis faced by famine. But both these issues are tied up with a willingness by Pakistan to come to terms with reality and to negotiate disengagement with the elected leaders of Bangla Desh.

Only an inclination to resume business with old friends could persuade the Americans to buy Pakistan's proposed solution of setting up a Quisling Administration in Bangla Desh, on the pretense of returning Pakistan to civilian rule. If the US chooses under these circumstances to resume aid and agrees to put relief into the hands of the Pak army, it will neither be tranquilizing the crisis nor saving the Bengalis from famine. It will merely hand another weapon – relief – to the Pakistan army and will foster the illusion that Washington can insulate West Pakistan from the costs of this war. By doing so, the Americans will ensure that the war goes on with a mounting expenditure of Bengali lives and resources and eventual disaster for West Pakistan as the price for its refusal to negotiate a political disengagement before it is too late. An open-ended crisis of this dimension transcends the frontiers of Bangla Desh and threatens not just a subcontinental war but because of the interest of both China and the USSR in the area, possibly another global confrontation. The United States, today, can buy disengagement cheaply by refusing to underwrite Pakistan's military adventure in Bangla Desh. Tomorrow it may find itself in yet another quagmire not of its own making.

Mr. Sobhan *was professor of economics at Dacca University, editor of the leading weekly journal in East Pakistan* (Forum), *and principal economic advisor to the now imprisoned East Pakistan leader, Sheik Mujibur Rahman.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Financing the '72 Democratic Primaries

Put the Lid On

by John R. Schmidt and Wayne W. Whalen

Leading Democratic candidates for the 1972 Presidential nomination – Muskie, McGovern, Bayh, Hughes – all voted for the Pastore Bill to limit TV and radio spending, which President Nixon vetoed. So did the Democratic Senate Majority Leader (Mansfield), the Democratic Speaker of the House (Albert) and House Majority Leader (Boggs), and an overwhelming majority of all other Democratic Senators and Representatives. Senator Kennedy told the Senate that "the most insidious problem in federal, state and local politics" is campaign financing. The Democratic National Committee has gone so far as to propose that individual campaign contributions be banned altogether and the federal government assume the financing of political campaigns.

Since the President's veto of the Pastore bill, numerous other proposals for putting a lid on campaign financing have been introduced. Rep. John Anderson (R, Ill.) would limit specified categories of campaign expenditures. Senator Gravel would set similar limits, but also offer tax incentives for small political contributions. Senator McGovern wants both a ceiling on overall spending and some governmental assistance in the financing of campaigns. Whether any of the pending bills will be enacted before 1972 is doubtful. Even if one is, it may not apply to presidential primaries. The Anderson, Gravel and McGovern proposals do cover the primaries, but the Pastore bill did not.

Our question is: why must the Democratic Party wait for Congress and the President to act? Of course the Democrats could not limit their spending in the '72 *general* election, unless the Republicans are bound by law to do likewise. But what's to prevent them from putting their own limits on *their* spending in the upcoming primaries? Unless they do, they're going to be putting out more than the $25 million that went into Democratic primary contests in 1968. In the California primary alone that year, according to *The New York Times*, Robert Kennedy spent about $2 million and Eugene McCarthy $1 million.

When money is thrown around this way, the poor candidate or the candidate without rich friends is at an enormous disadvantage. So is the ordinary party member compared to the rich man who can have a hundred times his impact on the outcome. The presidential nomination becomes the prey of rich candidates, wealthy backers, and special interests – not a prospect to gladden the heart of a party that committed itself in 1968 to "full, meaningful and equal participation by all Democrats in party affairs."

After bitter fights over the "party loyalty" issue at at the 1952 convention (as a result of the Thurmond candidacy in 1948), national chairman Stephen A. Mitchell took the initiative and appointed a high-level party commission to develop standards for certifying the "loyalty" of convention delegates. Mitchell himself served as chairman of the commission. The commission's proposals were adopted by the National Committee and included in the 1956 convention call, so as to put the party on notice that they would be immediately applied. The same rules (which prescribe principally that all delegates must act to assure that electors pledged to the national convention's nominee appear on the state ballot under the Democratic Party name) have been included in the convention call and applied by the national convention ever since. There was a general consensus in the party on the need to resolve the loyalty issue in advance of the convention, but there is an equally strong consensus today on the need to limit campaign spending. An initiative by the national chairman and the National Committee would be overwhelmingly supported. None of the principal presidential candidates – including those who might be expected to gain from unlimited spending – could afford to oppose it, even if they were inclined to do so.

As a first step, Chairman O'Brien should be authorized by the National Committee to appoint a representative commission to devise appropriate standards. Following Mitchell's example, O'Brien himself might well be the chairman. At the least, the commission should deal with the major categories of expenditures covered by Rep. Anderson's bill (radio and TV time, newspaper and magazine advertising, telephones, postage and billboards) and should fix a five or six cent limit on what any candidate can spend per registered voter. The limits should probably apply on a state-by-state basis, as well as to overall spending nationally, so that a candidate cannot concentrate his cash in one area and swamp a particular primary. The relationship between limits on spending by a presidential candidate

---

JOHN R. SCHMIDT *and* WAYNE W. WHALEN *are attorneys in Chicago. Their articles on reforming Democratic Party rules have appeared in the* Harvard Law Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and on spending by local candidates for convention delegate must be worked out. The commission should consider going beyond spending limits to prohibit altogether some objectionable campaign practices, such as prerecorded 30-second TV spot ads.

The fear has been expressed that limits on general election spending might give an undue advantage to incumbent officeholders. In the case of primaries that fear has no foundation. But there should be a similar concern that a decisive advantage in the primaries not be given to established "regular" party organizations. A challenger may need to spend, and particularly to advertise, on a substantial scale. The commission must devise limitations that do not inhibit such challenges.

The National Committee should include the recommended limits in its 1972 convention call and give the commission which devised them (or a new commission) the job of reporting violations. If arguments about interpretation arise, the commission should have authority to resolve them. The presidential candidates should be asked to affirm the limits, but they cannot be expected to take them seriously without assurance that other candidates will have to do likewise.

As an ultimate sanction, the 1972 national convention should refuse to seat delegates whose election is attributable to violations of the rules on spending. "Attributable" must be defined in advance by the commission to mean that excessive spending will automatically result in the rejection of delegates on whose behalf the spending was done – possibly according to a prescribed formula (*e.g.*, spending 20 percent in excess of the limit for a state would result in rejecting 20 percent of the delegates on whose behalf the spending was made), with the proviso that any willful violation of the rules may be dealt with more severely.

The people with the most to gain from primary spending ceilings are the rank-and-file party members, who would regain some of their rightful strength from assorted financial tycoons whose influence under present practices is so great. But party leaders and other Democrats who will be nominated for elective office in 1972 – including, especially, the party's presidential candidate – have something to gain also: the conservation of resources for the 1972 general election. The Democratic Party, which is not exactly affluent these days, has the power itself to prevent a financial bloodletting in the 1972 presidential primaries without having to depend on Congress and a Republican president to enact restraints. Effective party action is only possible, however, if it is initiated soon.

Urban Growing Pains

Is Bigger Also Better?

Richard D. Lamm

The history of America and its wealth has been the story of unrestrained growth. Conventional wisdom has always taught that growth was good, that to be bigger was to be better. That assumption however is being questioned. Oregon's Governor Tom McCall says, "Come and visit us again and again. But, for heaven's sake, don't come here and live." Oregon's Department of Economic Development has changed the name of its publication from *Grow With Oregon* to *Oregon Quality*. In Florida, in Colorado and in California, studies have shown growth contrary to community goals. President Nixon asked in his July 18, 1970, message on population:

"Where, . . . will the next hundred million Americans live? How . . . will we house the next hundred million Americans? What of our natural resources and the quality of our environment? How will we educate and employ such a large number of people? Will our transportation systems move them about as quickly and economically as necessary? How will we provide adequate health care when our population reaches 300 million? Will our political structures have to be reordered, too, when our society grows to such proportions? Many of our institutions are already under tremendous strain as they try to respond to the demands

Richard D. Lamm *is a member of the Colorado House of Representatives.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of 1969. Will they be swamped by a growing flood of people in the next 30 years?"

In answer, the President suggested population dispersal and assisting American families to "have no more children than they wish to have."

The problem with "population dispersal" is that many of the areas that people normally think of as underpopulated are deserts, or drylands incapable of providing the water for more population. The second problem is that those areas which have room for additional growth find that growth usually means increased taxes and decreased amenities. When we "Sell Colorado" or California, or Oregon, a few benefit from the sale, but not the average taxpayer. If you are in real estate, you may profit; if not, you will more than likely find growth has increased your taxes.

The reasons for this include increased costs of the needed intensified services that growth requires. The principle of "economies of size" operates in reverse in most large municipalities: the larger the city, the more per citizen it costs to provide local services.

To a certain point, a city can utilize the economics of scale and provide services at a fairly low per capita cost. But this process has its limits beyond which there are no cost savings derived from large-scale economic activities, and yet the need for services intensifies. There is a need for more fire and police protection, sanitation, waste disposal and other services which require an ever larger per capita tax expenditure. Dr. Kenneth Watt, of the University of California at Davis, maintains that municipalities of 100,000 to 299,000 spend $14.60 per person on police. Those of 300,000 to 490,000 spend $18.33, and those of 500,000 to 1,000,000 spend $21.88. New York City spends $39.83. For hospitalization, cities in the first two categories spend $5 to $8 per person; cities over 500,000 spend $12.54, while New York spends $55.19.

R. J. Smeed, a leading traffic systems analyst, has shown that the more commuters a town has, the more highways per capita it must build. Where there are 10,000 commuters in a town, they require eight square feet of roadway per person; 100,000 commuters require 28; and 1,000,000 commuters require 97 square feet of roadway per person. Thus, a 100-fold increase in population requires not a 100-fold increase in roadway, but a 1200-fold increase in roadway.

Kenneth Watt found that as the population of a city increases so does the number of crimes per 100,000 citizens. In cities with less than 10,000 population, the assault rate was 28.9 per year; in cities of 100,000 to 250,000 population, the rate was 83.3; in cities over 250,000 population, the rate was 154.1. The robbery rate rose from 12.8 in cities under 10,000 citizens, to 56.5 in cities between 100,000 and 250,000 citizens, and to 117.6 for cities over 250,000. The murder rate rose from 2.7 to 6.8 per 100,000 citizens. When a town grows from about 15,000 to over 250,000, its assault rate would likely increase 4.4 times, the robbery rate 7.5 times, rape 3.8 times, murder 2.8 times. And as the city's size increases, so does its per capita cost for police protection. California cities averaging 97,000 pay a per capita tax cost of $13.87 for police protection, while cities averaging 180,000 pay $17.08. This per capita police protection increases to $19.93 for cities averaging 700,000 and rises to $22.39 for a city of 2,800,000. The total local tax revenues per person increase in a similar way. When the gross income of the residents of a city goes up 100 percent, the revenue to the city rises only 90 percent while expenditures rise 110 percent. They grow, but fall further behind.

The citizen might not live as long either, because as population increases, so does pollution, and the death rates for lung cancer and emphysema. The rate of increase in emphysema deaths in three sample congested California counties, Orange County, Riverside County and Marin County, was from almost four to over seven times the percentage change for all of California.

Additional people do bring an increased tax base, but they also bring lots of new demands on tax dollars. Statistically, every 1000 new residents include 500 adults, 300 preschool children, 200 school children, and among them are 19 blind persons, 67 aged persons, 11 juvenile delinquents, 16 alcoholics and 30 mentally retarded children. Every 10,000 new residents, moving into Orange County, Florida, have been shown to require $3,880,000 in schools and teachers, 1200 acres of land, 20 firemen plus equipment, 25 miles of new streets, 30 police plus equipment and 1,300,000 gallons of water daily.

That doesn't mean that all taxpayers are in the same boat. Real estate interests profit from increased growth and increased demand. The owners of businesses who belong to Chambers of Commerce profit from the "bigger the better" philosophy. But the "business climate" they brag about often involves low wages for workers and a tax pattern that puts the taxload everywhere but on industry.

The Denver Chamber of Commerce boasts, "Overall, the Mountain States Region has a very favorable business tax climate. The region is the lowest among the nine regions in terms of direct business taxes as a percentage of total tax revenue with 9.5 percent for the Mountain States compared with 20.6 percent in the New England Region, and 14.9 percent nationally. The region also has the lowest average direct business tax burden per business, with $1239 per year. Colorado, consequently, ranks 215 percentage points below the national average in terms of direct taxes on business as a percentage of total state tax revenue." Who subsidizes this discrepancy in tax burden? The average taxpayer. Additional people also tend to keep

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the new-worker supply exceeding the demand. Wages are thus kept low and the "business climate" is further improved.

Growth is very much a mixed blessing. It increases the tax base but also increases the need for services. Beyond a certain point, growth becomes counterproductive. The locality exhibits a growing sense of futility as it sees its open space and amenities disappear, and, at the same time, its per capita taxes increase. We do not have unlimited land for population dispersal, though we think and often set national goals as if we do. Spreading the people around will partially alleviate, but will not solve, population-related problems. We must inevitably come to grips with the question of how many people can lead fulfilled lives in America's 3,628,150 square miles. Communities in areas commonly thought of as "underpopulated" are finding that the costs of growth are prohibitive.

Land Reform – I

The Great American Land Grab

by Peter Barnes

With three out of four Americans now jammed into cities, no one pays much attention to landholding patterns in the countryside. How things have changed. A hundred years ago, land for the landless was a battle-cry. People sailed the oceans, traversed the continent and fought the Indians, all for a piece of territory they might call their own. America envisioned itself – not entirely accurately – as a nation of independent farmers, hardy, self-reliant, democratic. Others saw us this way too. Tocqueville noted the "great equality" that existed among the immigrants who settled New England, the absence of rich landed proprietors except in the South, and the emergence in the western settlements of "democracy arrived at its utmost limits."

Along with industrialization, however, came urbanization and the decline of the Arcadian dream. Immigrants forgot about land and thought about jobs instead; the sons and grandsons of the original pioneers began to leave the farms and join the immigrants in the cities. Radical agitation shifted from farm to factory. Frontiersmen's demands for free land and easy credit were supplanted by workers' demands for a fair wage, decent conditions and union recognition. In due course a kind of permanent prosperity was achieved, and America directed its energies outwards, not inwards. Consumers bought their food in neatly wrapped packages, at prices most of them could afford, and forgot about the land.

Why, then, in 1971, should we turn back to look at our landholding patterns? One reason is that the land is still the cradle of great poverty and injustice. Another is that the beauty of the land is fast disappearing. Canyons are being dammed, redwoods felled, hills strip-mined and plateaus smogged. Wilderness and croplands are giving way to suburban sprawl and second-home developments. And the balance of nature itself is threatened by excessive use of pesticides.

The deterioration of our cities should also cause us to look back at the land; population dispersal in some form is a necessity. At the same time, there is a growing recognition that nagging social problems – burgeoning welfare rolls, racial tensions, the alienation of workers from their work – have not responded to treatment. Many of these problems have their roots in the land, or more precisely, in the lack of access to productive land ownership by groups who today make up much of the urban poor. Mexican-Americans, Indians and even some blacks are beginning to raise the point that more of America's land ought to belong to them. Given the dead-end nature of most antipoverty programs today, it is an argument worth listening to.

The schizoid character of American landholding patterns was first implanted during colonial days. In New England the land was divided fairly evenly among the many; in the South, mostly because of large royal grants, it was concentrated in the hands of the few. As a consequence, New England politics revolved around such institutions as the town meeting and the popular militia, while Southern society and politics were dominated in all aspects by the landed gentry. Jefferson warned that perpetuation of the large plantations would lead to the ensconcement of an "aristocracy of wealth" instead of an "aristocracy of virtue and talent," and even talked of freeing the slaves; but the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

plantation owners were hardly inclined to abdicate their privileged positions voluntarily.

With the winning of independence and the establishment of a national government, America had an opportunity to create a nation unfettered by the proclivities of European nobility. Men like Jefferson looked forward to a vigorous agrarian democracy, fostered by public education and a judicious distribution of the government's western domains. Then as now, however, politicians were less interested in promoting agrarian democracy than in making a quick buck. The history of the giveaway of America's public lands – hundreds of millions of acres over a century and a half – constitutes one of the longest ongoing scandals in the annals of modern man. Fraud, chicanery, corruption and theft there were aplenty, but more scandalous was the lack of concern for the social consequences of uneven land distribution. Congress at times did enact such foresighted measures as the Homestead Act of 1862, but far more often it authorized the wholesale disposal of public lands to speculators rather than to settlers. And what Congress didn't surrender to the land hoarders, the state legislatures, the Land Office and the Interior Department usually did.

In the early nineteenth century, the typical speculator's gambit was to form a "company" which would bid for massive grants from Congress or the state legislatures, generally on the pretext of promoting colonization. Once a grant was obtained – and it never hurt to be generous with bribes – the land would be divided and resold to settlers, or, more likely, to other speculators. The enormous Yazoo land frauds – in which 30 million acres, consisting of nearly the entirety of the present states of Alabama and Mississippi, were sold by the Georgia legislature for less than two cents an acre, and then resold in the form of scrip to thousands of gullible investors – was perhaps the most famous of these profit-making schemes. Huge fortunes were made in such swindles, often by some of the most respected names in government. The social consequences were not limited to the quick enrichment of a fortunate few. The issuance of vast tracts of land to speculators also had the effect of driving up land prices, thereby impeding settlement by poor Americans. And, since grants were not always completely broken up, they had the additional effect of implanting in the new territories of the South and West the pattern of large landholdings that persists to this day.

Texas landholding patterns, for example, date from this early period, though grants to the original American *empresarios* were made by Mexico rather than Washington. At first there was a rush to purchase and occupy Texas lands granted to Stephen M. Austin and others. After the initial "Texas fever" subsided, many immense and valuable estates remained intact, and could be acquired for a relative pittance. Today many of these enormous tracts are cotton plantations, cattle ranges or oil fields owned by wealthy individuals and corporations.

The concentration of land ownership in California, now the most productive agricultural region in the world, is perhaps most extraordinary of all. According to a 1970 study by the University of California Agricultural Extension Service, 3.7 million acres of California farmland are owned by 45 corporate farms. Thus, nearly half of the agricultural land in the state, and probably three-quarters of the prime irrigated land, is owned by a tiny fraction of the population. This monopolization didn't just happen; it was and still is abetted by federal and state policies.

Land in California originally acquired its monopoly character from the prodigious and vaguely defined grants issued by first the Spanish and then the Mexican governments. Upon California's accession to the union, the United States government could have incorporated these *latifundia* – still almost totally unpopulated – into the public domain, or ordered them divided into small farms for settlers. It chose, probably without much thought, to swallow them whole and to allow them to remain private. Almost immediately they fell prey to wily speculators and defrauders, who either bought out the heirs of the grantees or forged phony title papers and bluffed their way through the courts. Several of the original Spanish grants are embodied in giant holdings today: the Irvine Ranch (88,000 acres in Orange County), the Tejón Ranch (268,000 acres in the hills and valleys northeast of Los Angeles, 40 percent owned by the Chandler family, which publishes the Los Angeles *Times*), Rancho California (97,000 acres to the northeast of San Diego, jointly owned by Kaiser and Aetna Life), and the Newhall Ranch (43,000 acres north of Los Angeles).

The struggle for acquisition of the Mexican land grants was only the beginning of the empire-building period in California. For some reason American history books are filled with tales about the robber barons of finance and industry – the Rockefellers, Morgans, Carnegies and Harrimans – but almost always neglect to mention the great cattle barons of the West. At the top of any listing of the latter must certainly be the names of Henry Miller, James Ben Ali Haggin and Lloyd Tevis.

Miller was a German immigrant who arrived in San Francisco in 1850 with six dollars in his pocket, and amassed an empire of 14 million acres – about three times the size of Belgium – before he died. Starting out as a butcher, he soon realized that the big money lay in owning cattle, not chopping them into pieces for a handful of customers. He also recognized, in advance of other Californians, that water was far more valuable in the arid West than gold.

Miller's strategy was to buy up land along the rivers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of California's central valleys, thereby acquiring riparian rights to the water. Then he would irrigate the river banks with ditches, providing his cattle with natural grasses on which to graze. Homesteaders further back from the river would lose their water and be forced to sell to Miller at dirt-cheap prices.

Miller had other tricks as well. According to Carey McWilliams' *Factories in the Field*, a large portion of Miller's empire "was acquired through the purchase of land scrip which he bought from land speculators who, a few years previously, had obtained the scrip when they, while in the employ of the United States as government surveyors, had carved out vast estates for themselves." At one point in his career Miller set out to acquire some dry grasslands in the San Joaquin valley under the terms, ironically, of the Swamp Lands Act of 1850. This was a law under which the government offered alleged swamp lands to individuals free of charge if they would agree to drain them. The law provided that the land had to be underwater and traversable only by boat. Miller loaded a rowboat onto the back end of a wagon and had a team of horses pull him and his dingy across his desired grassland. Eventually the government received a map of the territory from Miller, together with a sworn statement that he had crossed in a boat. Thousands of acres thus became his.*

On a par with Miller in deviousness and ambition was the team of Haggin and Tevis, a pair of San Francisco tycoons who, among other things, had interests in the Southern Pacific Railroad and Senator George Hearst's far-flung mining ventures. By the 1870s, Haggin and Tevis had accumulated several hundred thousand acres in the San Joaquin valley from former Mexican grantees, homesteaders, the Southern Pacific Railroad and assorted "swamps." They fought bitterly for water rights to the valley's rivers, and, as Margaret Cooper has recounted in an unpublished University of California master's thesis, they were no strangers to fraud. Their empire-building was capped in 1877 by a masterfully engineered land-grab that must rank among the classics of the genre. Under the impetus of California's Senator Sargent, who was acting on behalf of Haggin and Tevis, Congress hurriedly approved the Desert Land Act, and the bill was signed by President Grant in the last days of his administration. The law had the effect of removing several hundred thousand acres from settlement under the Homestead Act. These lands, which were said to be worthless desert, were to be sold in 640 acre sections to any individual – whether or not he resided on the land – who would promise to provide irrigation. The price was to be 25 cents per acre down, with an additional $1 per acre to be paid after reclamation.

Needless to say, much of the land in question was far from worthless. The chunk of it eyed by Haggin and Tevis was located close to the Kern River, and was partially settled. A San Francisco *Chronicle* story of 1877 describes what happened next:

> The President's signature was not dry on the cunningly devised enactment before Boss Carr [Haggin and Tevis' agent in the valley] and his confederates were advised from Washington that the breach was open. It was Saturday, the 31st of March. The applications were in readiness, sworn and subscribed by proxies. . . . All that Saturday night and the following Sunday, the clerks in the Land Office were busy recording and filing the bundles of applications dumped upon them by Boss Carr, although it was not until several days after that the office was formally notified of the approval of the Desert Land Act.

Thus, by hiring scores of vagabonds to enter phony claims for 640 acres, and then by transferring those claims to themselves, Haggin and Tevis were able to acquire title to approximately 150 square miles of valley land before anybody else in California had even heard of the Desert Land Act. In the process, they dislodged settlers who had not yet perfected their titles under old laws and who were caught unawares by the new one. The *Chronicle* called the whole maneuver an "atrocious villainy" and demanded return of the stolen lands. A federal investigation followed, but Haggin and Tevis, as usual, emerged triumphant.

All this skullduggery would be of little contemporary interest were it not for the fact that the empires accumulated by the likes of Miller, Haggin and Tevis are still with us in only slightly different form; they have become the vast, highly mechanized corporate farms that monopolize California's best farmland and produce most of the fruit and vegetables and much of the sugar and cotton that America consumes. The fate of Haggin and Tevis' holdings is particularly interesting. In 1890, in order to perpetuate their empire beyond their deaths, the two entrepreneurs incorporated under the name of Kern County Land Company. Until the 1930s most of the company's vast acreage was still used for cattle grazing. In 1936 a copious deposit of oil was discovered beneath the company's lands, producing a colossal windfall for the heirs of Haggin and Tevis. Rather than pay taxes on the full amount of its oil earnings, the company began sinking them into irrigation pipes and sprinklers, thereby upgrading rangeland worth $25 an acre into prime cropland worth $1000 an acre, and later into orchards worth up to $4000 an acre. By 1965 a share of Kern County Land Company stock that sold for $33 in 1933

* Horace Greeley, who voted for the Swamp Lands Act, confessed later that he had been "completely duped. . . . The consequence was a reckless and fraudulent transfer of . . . millions of choice public lands, whole sections of which had not enough muck on their surface to accommodate a single fair-sized frog."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was worth (after splits totaling 40 for 1) $2680 – and had paid $1883 in dividends. Finally, in 1967, Kern County Land Company was bought by Tenneco (of whom more in my next article).

Meanwhile, the Civil War had led to the abolition of slavery, but not to the end of the plantation system. Thaddeus Stevens, leader of the Radical Republicans, proposed dividing the large Southern estates and giving to freed Negroes and landless whites forty acres and some cash. "Homesteads to them [Negroes]," he argued, "are far more valuable than the immediate rights of suffrage, though both are their due." This was too venturesome a proposal, however, even for the Radicals, and it did not get far in Congress. As a result, Negroes and poor whites in the South remained landless, and a century later a large Southern grower would tell a CBS newsman making a documentary on farm workers, "We no longer own our slaves, we rent them."

In other parts of the country Congress continued to squander the national patrimony with abandon. The railroads were granted 134 million acres, plus another 49 million by the states. Often the railroads would allow settlers to stay and improve the land, then evict them later and sell the upgraded property at a considerable profit. Congress did nothing to remedy such abuses. It was busy enacting – in addition to the Swamp Lands Act and Desert Land Act – such giveaways as the General Mining Law of 1872 and the Timber and Stone Act of 1878. Under the latter, lumbermen and quarry operators acquired millions of acres at $2.50 an acre, largely by using the same "dummy entryman" technique that Haggin and Tevis had so advantageously employed. Under the former, landgrabbers were able to acquire large tracts of public land for purposes that had nothing to do with mining or even settlement.

Congress was not entirely blind to what was happening, and it did strike some blows for agrarian democracy, but these were to a considerable extent diluted or subverted by subsequent legislation and administrative betrayals. Under pressure from landless frontiersmen, Congress passed the Pre-emption Act of 1841, allowing families to settle on 160 acres of unsurveyed public land, with first right to purchase when the land was ultimately placed on sale. This was as far as Congress was willing to go at the time, since the South feared homesteading would undermine slavery. In 1862, however, with no Southerners sitting, Congress adopted the Homestead Act, partially as a reward for Union soldiers. The law stands as a milestone in the history of American land policy. For the first time, full title to public land was to be granted free of charge to actual settlers. A family could acquire up to 160 acres – one quarter of a square mile – if it occupied and improved the land for five years. It was a fine law in theory, but by the time it was enacted a substantial portion of the best land in America was already accounted for. Congress made things worse as historian Paul Wallace Gates has noted, by removing additional valuable acreage from homestead settlement – usually by giving it to the railroads, or, as under the Morrill Land Grant Act, to the states, who in turn sold it to speculators. Shoddy administration by the Land Office did not help matters either. Cattlemen and speculators, both large and small, made widespread use of the "dummy entryman" trick and other ruses to acquire holdings far in excess of 160 acres, and the Land Office lacked either the will or the ability to stop them.

By the turn of the century almost all the available land in America had been staked out by one interest or another, and many Populists and reformers were displeased with the result. The Great Plains states were, by and large, democratically settled, but the same could not be said for the South and West. Henry George described California as "a country not of farms but . . . of plantations and estates," and thought a single tax on land was the remedy. The social effects of maldistributed land were most readily seen in the impoverishment of tenant farmers and sharecroppers in the South, and the exploitation of Chinese and Japanese laborers in the West.

Almost providentially, however, an opportunity to correct the mistakes of the past and to open up new lands for homesteading presented itself. Thanks to modern civil engineering, the arid expanses of the West, once useful only for grazing, could be irrigated and turned into cropland. Much of the land beyond the Rockies could thereby be transformed into a kind of New Midwest, characterized by family owned and operated farms. The instrument of this transformation would be a massive federal reclamation program; the Reclamation Act of 1902 was its charter.

F. H. Hewell, first director of the federal Reclamation Service, explained the purpose of the Reclamation Act as "not so much to irrigate the land, as it is to make homes. . . . It is not to irrigate the land which now belongs to large corporations, or even to small ones; it is not to make these men wealthy, but it is to bring about a condition whereby that land shall be put into the hands of the small owner, whereby the man with a family can get enough good land to support that family, to become a good citizen, and to have all the comforts and necessities which rightfully belong to an American citizen." Theodore Roosevelt was more succinct: "Every [reclamation] dollar is spent to build up the small man of the West and prevent the big man, East or West, coming in and monopolizing the water and land."

Federal reclamation would bring about this democratic renaissance by using both a carrot and a stick. The carrot would be subsidized water; the stick was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lodged in two crucial provisions of the 1902 Act – the 160-acre limitation, and the so-called residency requirement. The first provided that no person could receive federal water for use on more than a homestead farm of 160 acres; the second provided that water would be delivered only to "an actual bona fide resident on such land, or occupant thereof residing in the neighborhood." By attaching these twin limitations to its delivery of subsidized water, federal reclamation would, in the words of one of its sponsors, "not only . . . prevent the monopoly of public land, but . . . break up existing monopolies throughout the arid region."

It sounded confiscatory – indeed, almost revolutionary – but the large Western landowners could hardly complain. They had, in the first place, acquired their empires at prices that were scandalously low and through stratagems that were at best unethical and at worst illegal. Moreover, it was not as if Congress was about to drive them into unwilling bankruptcy. The law did not require them to accept federal water; it merely provided that, if they chose to sip at the public trough, they would, in due course, have to sell their lands in excess of 160 acres. Subsequent regulations established that they could receive subsidized water for ten years before parting with their excess holdings – a time span which allowed for enough farming profit to satisfy all but the greediest.

Nevertheless, the intended transformation of the West did not occur. Great dams were built, rivaling the pyramids of Egypt in their wondrousness; reservoirs were formed, and aqueducts constructed. By 1970 the Bureau of Reclamation spent almost $10 billion and irrigated nearly seven million acres. Yet land monopoly is more firmly entrenched in the West than ever; federal water has flowed and continues to flow in great quantity to the huge, absentee-owned corporate estates that should, under the law, have been broken up and sold to small resident farmers. In the words of former Senator Wayne Morse, the wholesale, continuing violations of the 1902 Act constitute "a water steal reminiscent of the scandals" of Teapot Dome and the "great land frauds."

Nearly a century ago the San Francisco *Chronicle* warned: "The land . . . taken by two or three men is sufficient to afford homes and independence to hundreds of intelligent, industrious and honest settlers. It is this class that makes, as it is the other [land monopolists] that ruins, a country. The confirmation of title to the monopolists means the transfer of ownership of the soil to a nonresident aristocracy, and its continued cultivation by a race of aliens and coolies. Let it be awarded to the settlers, and schools, roads, churches and general prosperity will ensue."

This and similar warnings went unheeded; the South and West developed as the *Chronicle* feared. Ownership of particular estates shifted hands over the course of several depressions, panics and booms, and in recent years the trend has been toward ownership by large corporations – often oil companies or conglomerates. But though the names have changed, the pattern of large landholdings has held steady throughout. A nonresident landed aristocracy – today composed of such diverse persons as Sen. Eastland and the directors of Tenneco – enjoys vast power.

Along with absentee ownership, racial exploitation became a way of life in the West, as it previously had in the South but as it never did in the Midwest. Chinese and Japanese field hands were succeeded by Hindus, Filipinos and Mexicans. The treatment of Japanese farmworkers is particularly instructive. For many years they were enthusiastically praised by California growers; they performed the most menial tasks with great skill and without asking favors (such as transportation and boarding) of their employers. Soon, however, the Japanese began leasing land for themselves – usually "useless" marsh or desert which they would reclaim and plant with rice or other crops. Through thrift and hard work, they even began achieving their ambition to own land. This was too much for the land monopolists, who succeeded in passing the Alien Land Act of 1913, designed to force the Japanese to sell their improved lands to them.

Other effects of concentrated land ownership were as the *Chronicle* foresaw. Schools, shops and civic institutions never blossomed in those parts of the South and West dominated by giant landholdings. Enormous disparity of wealth and power is rarely conducive to widespread involvement in public affairs, and is even less so when large portions of the population are migrants, or are barred by one means or another from voting. Why, after all, should an absentee landlord spend his taxes on good public schools, when his own children go to private school and an educated work force is the last thing he wants?

What was not foreseen was the impact that land monopoly would eventually have on American cities. If the Southern plantations and Mexican land grants had been broken up, if Western land had been distributed in limited-size parcels to actual settlers as generously as it was handed out in prodigious chunks to speculators, if the reclamation law had been vigorously enforced, it is doubtful that the cities would be as overcrowded and as beset as they are today. Blacks and landless whites would, in smaller numbers, have migrated to the cities, but they would not have been so ill-prepared had they descended from landowning farmers. They would have had dignity, schooling, some experience in public affairs, and perhaps savings enough to establish a foothold.

The question now is whether we are going to compound the errors and injustices of the past, or remedy them. [Next: *The Vanishing Small Farmer*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The End of the Two-Party System?

Changing Sources of Power: American Politics in the 1970s by Frederick G. Dutton

(McGraw-Hill; $7.95)

Our political soothsayers, as they cast their horoscopes, tend to fall into two categories. The first school – consisting of nearly all political reporters, most professional politicians and very many political scientists – assumes that the two-party system as we have known it will go on forever. Last year's psephological rage, *The Real Majority* by Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg, provided the canonical statement of this position. The second school – consisting thus far of Sam Lubell and one or two other political reporters, Eugene McCarthy and a very few professional politicians, Professors William Chambers, Walter Dean Burnham and some academics (including, since I had better declare an interest, myself) – believes that the traditional two-party system may well be in crisis and that, unless changes are made, politics in the new age will demand different forms and new outlets.

In this long-awaited and important book Frederick G. Dutton powerfully strengthens the second school. This is not a surprise, for Fred Dutton has been generously dispensing his wisdom in conversation for some time, and the rest of us have learned a good deal from his ideas and insights. He would classify himself, I suppose, among the practicing politicians, and he is indeed one of our best professionals. But he writes with a trenchancy and precision that journalists should envy, and his command of the technical and historical literature should satisfy the academics. In *Changing Sources of Power* he shows conclusively, I think, why the complacent thesis is unlikely to fit "the relentless politics of pluralism, uncertainty, contention, and choice" that will mark the decade of the seventies.

The first great change, he argues, will come from the rise of the young as a political force. By 1972 the number of those eligible to vote for the first time will increase to 25 million; another 16 million will be eligible by 1976; another 18 million by 1980. Moreover, in each four-year period 5 million Americans of voting age, mostly older people, will die. Against the Scammon view that all this will not greatly reduce the average age of the voter, Dutton points to the psychological impact of the young in an age when children so often tend to educate their parents. Nor is he impressed by the idea that the young won't bother to vote. "Voter turnout increases with education, affluence, political awareness, and social influence, and those attributes are all demonstrably higher in the coming generation than in any other new voting group in history."

The young, he concedes, are divided. Those reared in low-income families and lacking more than grammar-school or high-school education tend to be more passive and puritanical than their more privileged contemporaries; indeed, an important part of the working class "is now providing the most tenacious resistance to further broadening the country's social, economic, and political base." But even the working-class young, he suspects, are often reluctant to commit "generational treason." Moreover, as the first generation to grow up in the electronic age, the young as a whole will think and respond in different ways from their parents.

As for the activists among the young, these are demonstrably more independent in voting habits than their elders. They also conceive politics in broader terms; the key political struggle of the seventies, Mr. Dutton suggests, may be over the nature of our culture as the struggle of the thirties was over the nature of the economy. The activist young distrust hierarchical authority, favor personal and social experimentation and demand a voice in basic decisions. "The power-seeking in the new generation, it seems, is as real and determined as that of earlier social groups who pushed their way into the country's political structure."

The rise of the young is only the most notable shift that Mr. Dutton sees in the sources of political power. Neither farmers nor organized labor nor the business community, he argues, are going in the future to be able to exert their influence as they have in the past. Black protest will grow in strength and militancy. Even more important may be the shift of concern within the individual voter. Here Mr. Dutton identifies a Psychological Issue – "a search for individual meaning, relevance, status, and even self-fulfillment" – that he puts up against the Social Issue celebrated last year by Scammon and Wattenberg.

As against the Scammon-Wattenberg thesis of the permanent domination of American politics by the center, Mr. Dutton, like Lubell, finds the center in a state of unsettlement and disorientation. "The anxieties of the Center are victimizing the young and the minorities vastly more than the reverse." And these anxieties descended with devastating force on politics: "The radically new is beginning to impinge on the old too fast and in too great a volume to be assimilated or rationalized very much by other institutions before being injected into politics and government." The parties show little capacity to answer the anxieties. Neither Democrats nor Republicans have yet worked out a strategy "to provide a significantly larger public role and fresh institutional arrangements for the social groups which are stirring today." As for the old-time liberals, who long ago came to believe they had "an almost exclusive stewardship over the American conscience, the American downtrodden, and the American young," they now see the activists of the new generation trying to cut them off from all three.

The present stalemate may continue for another presidential term, but Mr. Dutton is fairly certain that after the middle seventies there will come "a fairly major opening for the newer forces in American life." As these forces struggle for expression and influence, we may well be in for a succession of one-term Presidents and very possibly for a multiplication of political parties. A liberal fourth party

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could, he surmises, raise almost as much money in 1972 as the Democrats; and, if the major parties continue unresponsive to the new psychological imperatives, and if television intensifies its emphasis on the candidate rather than the party, we could move from the present two-party system into a more or less lasting multicandidate system and a new era of volatile, vivid and vehement politics.

In a striking historical analogy, Mr. Dutton contends that the contemporary political situation bears real, if rough, resemblances to the situation in the 1840s and 1850s. That too was a time of a desperate racial question, a sweeping technological transformation, rapid population growth, an unpopular war, mediocre political leadership, an outburst of native Americanism, an urban crisis, a spread of communes, a contagion of violence, a time of the disintegration of traditional parties, of multiple presidential candidates, of political division, evasion and drift. *Changing Sources of Power* is both a warning and a summons. Mr. Dutton tells us that politics-as-usual, the apotheosis of a nonexistent center, an unthinking belief in the continued dominance of the nonyoung, nonpoor and nonblacks may only lead to another national disaster. Perhaps if enough people read this penetrating book, our political process may yet rise to the complex urgencies of our time.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Wrestling Society for a Soul

The Book of Daniel by E. L. Doctorow

(Random House; $6.95)

This is less a review than a celebration. E. L. Doctorow has written the political novel of our age, the best American work of its kind that I know since Lionel Trilling's *The Middle of the Journey*. Doctorow could hardly be less like Trilling in style or temper, but that's part of the point; it helps to make this novel the quintessence of the '60s, as Trilling, in 1947, fixed the political '30s.

The time of the book, the "present" time, is mostly 1967, between Memorial Day and Christmas. Daniel Lewin, twenty-seven, is a graduate student at Columbia, and this book is (and is not!) what he writes instead of a dissertation. He's the son of Communist parents, Bronx Jews, who were executed at Sing Sing in the early 1950s for conspiring to steal atomic secrets for Russia. He has a younger sister. The book is built on his attempts to find the truth about his parents, about himself in relation to them, and on his relations with his sister in her attempts to regain sanity.

The premise is only one of the potentially troublesome elements in the book that Doctorow converts into triumph. The Rosenberg parallel might have been a mere gimmick. (Trilling, triumphing likewise, based a major character on Whittaker Chambers.) There is no tricky plot. And most certainly it's not a forensic novel about whether the Rosenbergs were really innocent or really guilty. This is an artwork about the *idea* of the Rosenbergs and people like them, how they came into being in this country, why their trial was needed, what their legacy is, and the intertexture of that legacy with the social-political climate today. I haven't looked up the facts of the Rosenberg case; it would be offensive to the quality of this novel to check it against those facts. This is a work of historic and psychic currents.

The parents were named Isaacson.

from Cambridge

BERTRAND RUSSELL AND TRINITY

G. H. HARDY

In 1942 the famous mathematician G. H. Hardy printed for private circulation a full account of the 1916 prosecution of Russell and his dismissal from a lectureship at Trinity College for his defense of a conscientious objector. This book makes it public for the first time.

"The wheel of history sometimes turns in unexpected directions . . . so that a half-forgotten British academic scandal becomes almost cruelly relevant to the United States in 1970. . . . It speaks to the heart of our national predicament." —*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* $2.95

THE IMPACT OF LABOUR 1920–1924

The Beginning of Modern British Politics

MAURICE COWLING

A study of British politics and politicians in the 1920-1924 period when the arrival of Labour as a major electoral force enabled the Conservative leaders to destroy the Coalition, the Liberal Party, and Lloyd George, to triumph as guardians of the social order under Baldwin at the general election of 1924, and to establish the Labour–Conservative polarization in the form which has persisted.

Maurice Cowling concentrates on "the high politics of the politicians who mattered," discussing their initiatives and their reactions to one another. $17.50

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
32 East 57th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Nothing has been chosen lightly in this book, including names. The first Isaac, we remember, was nearly sacrificed to his father's beliefs.) They were first-generation Americans, he a radio repairman with a tiny Bronx shop, she the daughter of a crazy old woman who wrote Bintel Briefs to a Yiddish newspaper, recounting persecution in Russia and fierce struggle on the lower East Side.

After the Isaacsons' execution, their two children, fourteen and nine, were adopted by a Boston law professor and wife named Lewin. The book begins with a trip that Daniel and his young wife and baby make to Massachusetts, to join the Lewins in a visit to the mental hospital where his sister is confined. She was taken there after cutting her wrists in a Howard Johnson's ladies room nearby. The book ends – one of the three endings that are proposed – with the sister's funeral. In between we are pressed to a kaleidoscopic vision of the present and the intermingled past, of political history as it applies to the Isaacsons, of the fires of this century as they burn to and through the borders of all our lives.

A second triumph of Doctorow's is the form of the book. Daniel, the "author," often says that he hates the idea of sequence. The temporal urge of this book is toward simultaneity, not only of time planes but of different viewpoints. Not only are the present and various pasts closely interwoven but also various views of Daniel himself, who is seen in both the third and first persons – sometimes in successive sentences. As with many modern sensibilities, Doctorow has fractured seamless sequence because he felt, evidently, that the turbulence which bred and surrounds Daniel is always present with him, all of it, all the time. Doctorow's cascading form sweeps along with it occasional thematic variations, one of them a "True History of the Cold War" in the shape (says the author) of a raga.

Another important part of the method, throughout the book, is the consciousness that the book is being written. For instance: "I suppose you think I can't do the electrocution. I know there is a you . . . I will show you that I can do the electrocution." And then Doctorow-Daniel does it, unforgettably. This now-familiar consciousness of art in the making of art, this attempt to fix the act of creation as part of the finished work, can be both disarming and enriching, as it is here. "Nothing up my sleeve" adds to the magic, for the modern consciousness that is suspicious of magic.

(In fact, I wish Doctorow had used this method in one "straight" section: the climactic meeting between Daniel and his parents' accuser, years after their death, in Disneyland at Christmas. The irony of the setting and season might have lost its slightly pat touch if Daniel had capitalized on the Disneyland aspects of the meeting.)

A third triumph is that this novel's untraditional form has not subverted traditional fiction values. Doctorow might have thrown all his creative energy into glittering sequences and – like some contemporary writers, including some good ones – might have asked the fulfillment of the design to *be* the work. But he achieves other ends as well.

Character. Every character in this book, major or minor, is sharply visible, has a voice – even a peripheral character like the Isaacsons' Negro janitor, the black man whom these society-changing Communists, these Jews who have known persecution, are quite willing to relegate to a bare cot in the cellar; and who is symbolically waiting. Place. Every setting, every occasion has an essence, an odor: a dusty radio-shop window of the '40s, a Yippie pad in the East Village (where, fifty years before, Daniel's grandmother had struggled!), a Paul Robeson concert in the late '40s, a Washington Peace March in 1967. Drama. Every sequence is handled by a dramatist, is understood to its *conclusion* – just one example, the Dickensian episode in which the Isaacson children flee the children's shelter, while their parents are in jail awaiting trial.

And everything in this scintillating, yet deeply mined book feeds its theme. Here is an approximation of that theme. Political radicalism was brought to the US by late 19th-century immigrants, many of whom were East European Jews. Previous political impulses in this country had usually been comfortably meliorist, often theologically based. With increasing socio-economic pressures, partly caused by those very immigrants, the European ideologies that the immigrants brought with them became more and more germane. Therefore it's idle to speak of those ideologies as European concepts imposed on America: those immigrants, and their progeny, now are part of America, and the very changes caused by their interfusion have placed their ideologies among the American antecedents and options.

In its reaction against those ideologies, not an entirely deplorable reaction *in itself*, the US has gone through several spasms of purge, cruelly antithetical to our constitutional premises. One such spasm was the Red spy hunt of the late '40s when this country needed victims to console itself for the fact that Russia was getting the bomb.

This novel faces up squarely and intelligently to the Jewishness of its subject. Jews had been persecuted, Jews are historically avid for social justice, Jews had less at stake in Anglo-Saxon-cum-Yankee traditions and rewards. Jews were in big cities mainly, cities were trouble spots, Jews were troublemakers. Doctorow refuses to blink any of this. On the contrary, by plunging his hands into the nettles, he plucks out the flower. By confronting the matter in fullest human resonance, he transforms parochialism into universals. His Jews become prototypical.

Out of all this background, partially in reaction against it, come many of today's revolutionaries. (No longer so markedly Jewish, by any means.) Their anti-intellectualism has its roots in impatience with the Bach-and-Shakespeare radicals of the past. Pop culture and pot culture are a reproof of all that Parnassian pipe-smoking culture that, in their view, merely mirrored the oppressive society at a different angle. Socially and psychically, too, there have been both connection and change. Doctorow shows us how pervasively sexual the Isaacson marriage was. Daniel has inherited that

THE KNIFE
Swiss Army Officer's Knife. Stainless steel. Red scales. 3½" L. 2 blades, scissors, tweezers, 3 screwdrivers, awl, 2 saws, fish-scaler/hook disgorger, can opener, cap lifter/wire stripper, toothpick, nail file, shackle. $21. At Hoffritz. 50¢ pstg. & hndlg. Area sales tax. Credit cards. 52-page cat. $1.
HOFFRITZ HAS IT
20 Cooper Sq., Dept. NR12, N.Y.C. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sexuality, as he inherited radicalism, but has rejected his parents' "respectability," as he rejects formal ideology. A bizarre sex episode with his wife in a moving car is a declaration of continuity and independence.

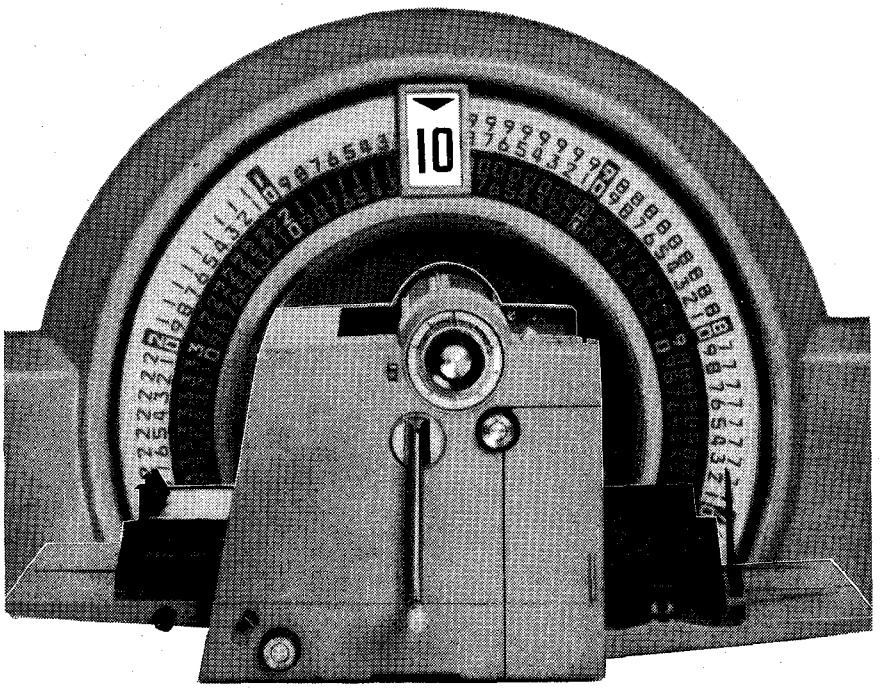
And beneath the large theme that underlies the book is the even larger contemporary crisis in consciousness: the crisis of faith in rationalism, the faith so hard-won in the last few centuries; the resurgence of the Myth of Unreason because the Myth of Reason has not only failed so far to bring the promised grace but may have become a habit-forming narcotic. One need not subscribe to this belief, as for the most part I do not, to see its power in this novel. (Congruent belief is hardly necessary in art. I'm not a Catholic royalist, yet I think Evelyn Waugh's trilogy is the best fiction produced by World War II.)

"Existential" revolution, since 1967, has shown defects in dynamics, but Doctorow dramatizes the forces that produced it, along with the opposition to it – chiefly, the ingrained American hunger for innocence, a hunger that always gets vicious when frustrated. Fundamentally, the novel implies, the new revolution grew out of a break with a formal ideology that had its own innocence. Daniel's parents accepted the roles that society imposed on them in the prosecution; more, they accepted the roles that the Party imposed on them. (There is a masterly courtroom scene, imagined by Daniel, in which a mere exchange of glances reveals an intra-Party collusion.) The book chronicles a long break with acceptances, both conservative and radical. The end, the third and final ending, leaves the facts of the Isaacson case still mysterious for Daniel, but the forces that grew out of the radical past swerve until they reach the Columbia library – spring of 1968! – where he is writing.

E. L. Doctorow is forty, a former editor for book publishers, and the author of two previous novels that are not comparable with this work. His *Book of Daniel* is beautiful and harrowing, rhapsodic and exact. Like all good artists dealing with such subjects, Doctorow does not give answers but is not content only to pose questions. At one point Daniel says of his father: "He wrestled society for my soul." The line might be a motto for this fine book.

Stanley Kauffmann

Here's where you start saving money.



For 10 copies or more, no copier can duplicate the economy of Gestetner duplicating.

If your office uses a copier to make multiple copies, they are wasting your money.

With Gestetner duplicating, one copy is inexpensive, but set the automatic counter for anywhere from 10 to 10,000 and the savings really start piling up.

Even on jobs that you would normally give to outside printers.

No one has to type or draw anything on a stencil. Our electronic Gestefax cuts them automatically. From the stencil, the Gestetner duplicator produces duplicates of photographs, charts, clippings, office forms, letterheads and direct mail pieces.

Crisp clear copies (in any of 19 colors or any combination) with a sparkling printed look that only your printer knows he didn't print.

And it's as easy as pushing that money-eating copier button.

Gestetner

Gestetner Park,
Yonkers, N.Y. 10703

Please tell me more.

Name _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

NER-6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER

WE BRING THE TROOPS HOME-

WHICH RAISES UNEMPLOYMENT-

SO WE CREATE NEW JOBS-

WHICH RUIN THE ENVIRONMENT-

SO WE LIMIT INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION-

WHICH CRIPPLES THE ECONOMY-

SO WE GO TO WAR-

©1971 JULES FEIFFER 6-6

TO SALVAGE THE ECONOMY-

AND AT FOUR YEAR INTERVALS WE ELECT A NEW PRESIDENT-

TO GET OUR MIND OFF OUR PROBLEMS.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAD YOU BEEN A SUBSCRIBER

During the last year or so, you would have read tables of contents similar to this one:

THE **Atlantic** $1.00

Mike Nichols Talks About His Films	February, 1970
The High Cost of Cure by Michael Crichton	March, 1970
Hard Times by Studs Terkel	April, 1970
The Black Law Student by James Alan McPherson	April, 1970
Murder in the Schoolroom by Charles Silberman	June, July, August, 1970
The Famous Writers School by Jessica Mitford	July, 1970
Episode in Tokyo Bay by Theodore White	August, 1970
The Dirty-Movie Makers by David Denby	August, 1970
Thanksgiving in Paris by Mary McCarthy	August, 1970
Chiang and Stilwell by Barbara Tuchman	September, 1970
Easy Rider, A Riposte	September, 1970
Soldiers, a study of the U.S. Army, by Ward Just	October, 1970
The Kennedy, Hoover, King Wiretapping Controversy	November, 1970
Sex and the Married Couple (Re Masters and Johnson)	December, 1970
The Radical Psychiatry of R.D. Laing	January, 1971
The Nuclear Politburo by Paul Jacobs	February, 1971
Jazz Meets Rock by Albert Goldman	February, 1971
Indochinese Checkers by Flora Lewis	March, 1971
The Bobby Orr Effect	April, 1971
The "Perfect" University President	April, 1971
The Obsolescent Mother by Edward Grossman	May, 1971

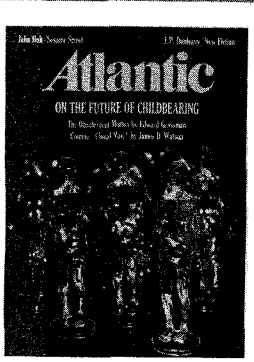
Reviews by Malcolm Cowley, Wilfrid Sheed, Edward Weeks, Mark Schorer, Louis Kronenberger, Richard Gilman, Joyce Carol Oates, L. E. Sissman, Justin Kaplan, Dan Wakefield, William Abrahams, Robert Evett, Frank Kermode, John Updike, Peter Davison, Isaac Asimov, Phoebe Adams.

LAST CHANCE

Effective June 1st, the subscription price of The Atlantic will be increased to $10.50 a year ($12.00 on the newsstand).

Rapidly rising postal rates and other inflationary pressures have forced the increase.

This is the last time this low rate will be available. 8 months for $3.17.



THE ATLANTIC—Dept. Z1
Subscription Department
125 Garden Street
Marion, Ohio 43302

I do not want to miss this last chance.
Enter my 8 month trial subscription.

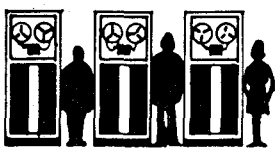
☐ **$3.17 enclosed.** ☐ **Bill me.**

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... **State** ..... **Zip** .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



COMPUTERS, COMMUNICATIONS, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Edited by MARTIN GREENBERGER

Are computers agents for good or evil? Do they free or restrict us? Can they constitute an invasion of privacy? And how should their use be regulated?

Based on a symposium at which lectures by eight specialists were the subject of discussion by such notables as Alan Perlis, Wayne Morse, Charles Schultze, Ralph Nader, and Harvey Brooks, *Computers, Communications, and the Public Interest* comes to grips with some of the most hotly debated issues of our times. $12.50

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
Baltimore, Maryland 21218

Saul Alinsky,

America's most famous community organizer, offers an eye-opening manifesto for realistic radicals

RULES FOR RADICALS

"A book that ought to set the Establishment flies a-buzzing."
—PUBLISHERS' WEEKLY

$6.95, now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

Epic Sans Calliope: Freud Stoned

The Passions of the Mind: A Biographical Novel of Sigmund Freud by Irving Stone

(Doubleday; $10.00)

This is a comically inept and drearily pretentious book about a subject of some importance. I confess to having been able to discover within its eight hundred pages not a single felicitous passage that is original, and this is not to suggest that the selection of quotations or near-quotations is at all discerning: not a hint of the kind of understanding, to say nothing of sympathy, that might serve as a minimal requirement for so ambitious an undertaking: neither wit nor humor, not even one modest *aperçu*. The quality of Irving Stone's writing, naturally enough, reflects that of his reading, and although it is apparent that he has done a great deal of both, it has not helped at all. The book is made up (*composed* would be quite the wrong word) of acres of poor paper-and-scissors work and unseemly piles of irrelevant padding: the whole is topped off as well as interlarded with great horrid gobs of hokey dialogue. That I do not intend only an extended howl of indignation concerning the desecration of an idol will, I trust, presently become apparent.

A few of the book's better passages may be sufficient to suggest the character of Stone's invention on this occasion. At one point, for example, relatively early in his psychological career, the author's indomitable and portentous hero has not yet made it. He has recently bombed with his *Studies on Hysteria* and it is clear to him that the world remains oblivious either of the book's revolutionary significance or of the smouldering presence of this great man in its midst. This Freud then is speaking to his wife:

> Sigmund opined ruefully. "Now I can once again resign myself to daily cases and economies." Martha gave him a wisp of a smile. "Isn't that what life is made up of? Don't let your hopes fly so high, my golden Sigi, and you won't drop with such a thud."

Another occasion: Freud's friend and collaborator, Josef Breuer, has suddenly and quite unexpectedly chickened out of what is at this time the merest germ of the movement:

> Sigmund shivered. He felt frozen to the spot. He could not make a move toward home. He was heartsick. What had possessed Josef to repudiate him in this fashion? . . . He forced himself to begin to walk. Slowly he covered the streets, his legs heavy beneath him. And slowly his mind came to rest on Professor Meynert, who had also repudiated his protege . . . until he had confessed, "Always remember, Sigmund, the adversary who fights you hardest is the most convinced you are right." He held his breath as a conviction swept his brain. Now he understood!

Dr. William Fliess ("one of those rare students who can take legible notes without removing his eyes from the lecturer") comes from Berlin to hear Freud talk and afterwards stays behind to see him:

> "A dynamic experience, Dr. Freud. . . . Could we stop at one of your delightful Viennese coffeehouses for a beer?"

Otto Rank's parlor trick may not compare with that of Fliess, but it's worth noting. Having finished presenting a paper to the small group that formed around Freud prior to the Great War, Rank

> now transformed himself from a budding scholar into a secretary who had a talent for reproducing an entire discussion as faithfully as though it had been recorded on one

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the phonographs recently invented by an American named Thomas A. Edison.

It would be unforgivable simply to condemn a writer who fails as dismally as this to manufacture a plausible hero – or a context for a ready-made hero – for our (presumably) starving peasants: those for whom, say, the three volume and more or less official Jones biography or its very substantial abridgement might seem either beyond reach or a bit too much of a good thing. Anyone who cannot carry off the mass-readership stunt with commanding sincerity and aplomb – like the confidence man who stumbles badly over his pitch – cannot, surely, be all bad. We simply can never have too abundant a supply of this species of failure: gangsters who can stand neither the sound of gunfire nor the sight of blood, saviors whose missions collapse by virtue of their inability to maintain the required heights of solemnity, or aspiring hypnotists who lack the sense of final conviction. Particularly in relation to so persuasive a subject as Freud, one more refulgent success in the composition of an ideal portrait would have been another kind of disaster: a potentially powerful contribution to that romantic idolatry within whose context Freud became lost. The stoning of Freuds in the manner of this book is a far less serious error. This particular stoning, one notes, is already at the top of the best seller list, a fact that may be of some interest to those concerned with the deteriorating quality of our environment. We are spared here the other kind of success: the intoxicating literary triumph, ordinarily composed of sentimentality, that is compounded by the substantially inarticulate reply of the willingly enthralled reader to the spellbinding writer.

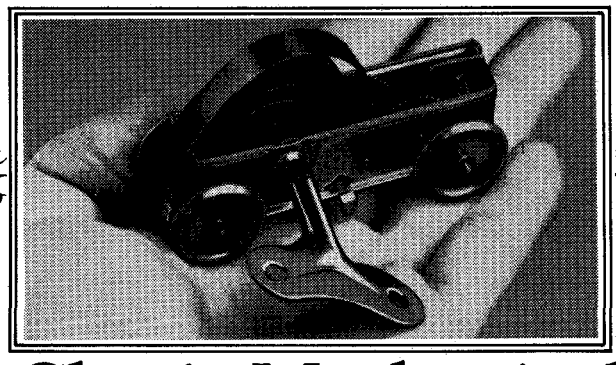
The creation of a particular man rather than that of some ideal hero: of contingency, as distinct from some exceedingly grand design that encompasses all possible contingency: of minor and mortal theories – the kind that survive, perhaps, for only a day or two rather than those that seem destined to hang around forever: all of this is clearly remote from Stone's effort here. Above all, he seems strangely impervious to what is his subject's most enduring and formidable charm, that of his writing.

It is precisely the compelling quality of Freud's style, the wonderfully commanding character of his rhetorical manner, the sheer majesty of his purpose and determination and the splendor of his overwhelming confidence – in short, his egotism – that makes him personally so inaccessible, so extraordinarily difficult to understand and so terribly easy either to follow or to oppose, to swallow whole or reject entirely. It is ordinarily assumed, particularly by those who have followed him most faithfully, that this style was his, that he was its undisputed master and that it served him supremely well. Freud's presence is an imposing one, the style marvelously persuasive: the constancy of that style's presence – it seems never to have deserted him – permits us to imagine (not *prove* or *know*) the possibility of a Freud other than the one that he and we have known so well: one possessed rather than possessing, and one betrayed less by those apostates he could never forgive than by that masterful style. Lulled by his persuasiveness, one may find the style merely an admirable vehicle for the conveyance of his ideas: the style then becomes an entirely separate matter, one that is routinely celebrated at the same time that it is just as routinely reduced to virtual insignificance; the ideas then, having become the sole substance of the business at hand, are examined most rigorously.

Without having followed Freud, even to the point of having become quite lost in the pursuit of his particular chimera, there is very little prospect of understanding him; there is even less chance of some understanding if one merely follows him. Perhaps this is simply a tedious way of repeating that which Freud insisted on: that no one has the right to judge psychoanalysis who has not himself experienced it. I don't think that is all I am trying to say here. The kind of under-

Notes on Contributors

David Halberstam's *latest book,* Ho, *has recently been published by Random House.* Leslie Schaffer, *a Washington, DC psychoanalyst, is editor of* Human Inquiries. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. *currently holds the Albert Schweitzer Chair in Humanities at The City University of New York.*



The Classic Mechanical Toy

WITH POWERFUL CLOCKWORK MOTOR

own an entire fleet of 6 for only $5.95

Remember the good old days when they really knew how to make mechanical toys? They made them out of heavy, stamped metal, not plastic. The toys had powerful wind-up motors and lots of whirring, clicking reduction gears that seemed to keep running forever. We used to take the toys apart because the motors were really the most fascinating part.

Well, after lots of looking, we managed to find a group of highly skilled, dedicated craftsmen overseas who were able to duplicate exactly the top quality, spring-driven classic toy car motors that were precision-made almost a quarter-century ago by gifted German toy masters. These toy motors have virtually unbreakable blue carbon steel springs that we personally clocked at 3½-minutes running time (that's a long time); they have 8 separate metal cogwheel gears (cheap toys have only 2); there's a unique cut-off device that automatically stops the motor when the car overturns or bumps into something (it starts automatically again when the car is righted); the chassis and wheels are heavy stamped metal; and there's superb workmanship throughout.

They're fascinating. They scoot all over the place with gears whirring and clicking. You can race them. Build things. They provide hours of educational fun for the kids. Hobbyists love them. They're marvelous for relieving executive tensions. They just don't make 'em like this anymore. And you can now buy an entire fleet of 6 for less than you'd expect to pay for a single plastic toy nowadays.

Order No. 40700: Set of 6 CLASSIC MECHANICAL CARS (Complete with jumbo wind-up keys) only $5.95 (plus 60¢ postage.)

Send check or money order, or charge your credit card account. Please give account name, and your number. *(N.Y. residents add sales tax.)* Free gift catalog on request.

THE EVERYTHING GUARANTEE:

The GALLERY guarantees EVERYTHING: The quality, accuracy of description, availability, prompt delivery. If not delighted, return the cars **within 3 weeks after you receive them** (not the usual 10 days) for an instant refund of purchase price or cancellation of charges.

finer things by mail from The GALLERY Dept. 9971, Amsterdam, N.Y. 12010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

standing I imagine would compel neither the kind of consent he so relentlessly demanded nor the kind of defiant opposition that never ceased somehow to dismay him. Perhaps it would not be at all a matter of possession: nor would it resemble the kind of understanding he proposed to us, the kind that he knew we must possess – his confidence in that knowledge failing him only toward the end of his life. I suspect that we cannot understand him in *his* way. We may eventually have the analysis of the analyst, the final pathography of the pathographer – the materials are being assembled – but I don't think it will do anything but restore us once again, if indeed we are not still there, to the dark lucidity of some Borgesian tautological labyrinth. We need something quite different.

Some hints of what is necessary are contained in an essay by Ortega written for the centenary of the death of Goethe, in which he asked for a study of Goethe unlike anything the scholars had provided. "Until now" he observed, "the biographer at his most perspicacious has been a psychologist."

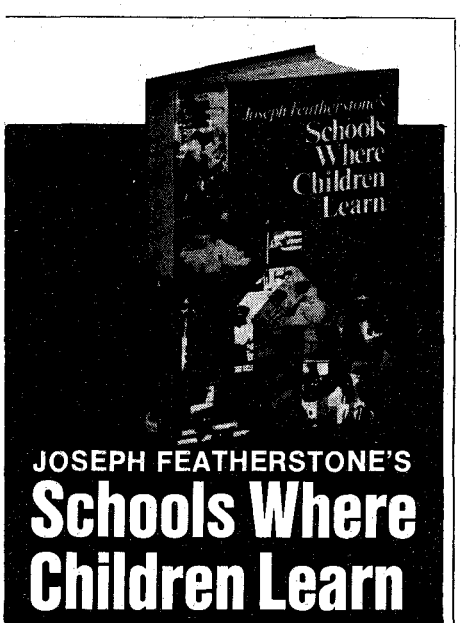
> He has had the gift of entering *into* a man and discovering all the clockwork which forms the character and, in general, the soul of his subject. Far be it from me to disdain these investigations. Biography requires psychology as it requires physiology. But all that is pure information.

He would not, one may suppose, have disdained either the truth of those interior structures of man disclosed by means of radiography. The clockwork of mechanism and motive, no less pertinent a requirement of the biographer than physiology, seems not to have interested him very much, although he does not disdain all of this. The biographies of Goethe, he wrote, "have been built up in accordance with the optics of monuments. Their authors would seem to have been commissioned to create a statue for a public square. . . ." This monumental optical system, he proposed, had several disadvantages: it provided us with "a solemn vision, seen from outside, seen from a distance, and lacking in genetic dynamism." The German scholars, he wrote, worked *on* Goethe, but "never put Goethe in question." "The frequency with which they use the words 'genius,' 'titan' and other contourless vocables which everyone except Germans have left off using is enough to assure us that their work is all mere sterile Goethean bigotry." He thought Goethe important enough to be treated – he used a phrase of Schiller's – "like a proud virgin, who should be given a child to humiliate her before the world." He was interested not in destroying Goethe, but in rescuing him from some frightful monumental immortality. He thought that to call Goethe "before a court of vital urgencies" would be "the most Goethean thing to do with Goethe" and that such a venture would cause a scandal. "The extent to which Goethe has been misconceived" he thought, "is almost laughable."

> There is but one way left to save a classic: to give up revering him and use him for our own salvation – that is, to lay aside his classicism, to bring him close to us, to make him contemporary, to set his pulse going again with an injection of blood from our own veins, whose ingredients are *our* passions . . . and *our* problems.

In some ways at any rate, Freud is no less important to us and deserves no less than the kind of restoration that Ortega proposed. Such restoration has so far been denied him, and us: but perhaps the time for such a radical departure has not yet come.

Leslie Schaffer



JOSEPH FEATHERSTONE'S
Schools Where Children Learn

"The best description so far of the flexible and noncoercive British primary schools, and how and why they work so effectively. **Should be read by parents and teachers alike."**
—John Holt

"After decades of waste, we are finally learning something about learning in this country. And Joseph Featherstone is one of our most useful illuminators—as this book again demonstrates."*—Nat Hentoff*

$5.95

LIVERIGHT
386 PARK AVE. SO., NEW YORK 10016

The Simple Truth

Forty Days With the Enemy by Richard Dudman

(Liveright; $5.95)

Dick Dudman, the Washington bureau chief of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, is the very model of what a reporter should be. He is intelligent and hard-working, and in a city where journalism and power are too often intertwined, much to the benefit of those in power and much to the loss of those in journalism, he has always succeeded admirably in staying a careful distance away from the great and the mighty. Last year he was in Indochina covering the Cambodia incursion with two other reporters when he was taken prisoner by the Vietcong. Like many of his fans I was worried about his disappearance. Six weeks later he and his two companions were released by their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

captors and he has told this story in a book, *Forty Days with the Enemy*. This is a very good book; like its author it is intelligent, sensitive and modest.

If one can be said to be captured and lucky, then Dudman's luck held well. He lived to tell the story, he was not held too long, his health was not seriously impaired, and almost equally important he was very wise in his choice of traveling companions. One was Beth Pond, a serious and thoughtful reporter for the *Christian Science Monitor*, the other was Mike Morrow of Dispatch News Service, a young man who spoke fluent Vietnamese. The combination of Dudman's professionalism and journalistic control and Morrow's linguistic ability allowed them to do more than just watch and pass sign language with their captors. The result is a subtle book of some genuine and unpresumptuous insight into the other side; gradually the nameless and the faceless begin to have names and faces; more amazing still, they come to have fears, vanities and humor. Some speak fluent agitprop, but most are simple Vietnamese deeply committed to their cause, lonely and too long away from their wives and families.

I would be the last to suggest that the treatment accorded Dudman et al is typical of that accorded all prisoners. (Indeed Hanoi's silence on the condition and status of other journalists captured in Cambodia, and its reluctance to give lists on American military prisoners are in sharp contrast.) Certainly journalists, if so identified, may be treated better than bombardiers, and perhaps liberal journalists better than conservative ones (indeed during the long boring hours, the three amused themselves by thinking of what might happen to other captured reporters; Joseph Alsop, for instance). But the treatment of them was quite good and fair. Once they got beyond their very first captors they were well cared for and safe. They were shielded from the local population, they were fed reasonably well, their privacy was protected. All in all, this account, along with others by other prisoners released from Hanoi contrasts quite favorably with say, the North Korean treatment of prisoners during the Korean war. This is worth saying because the Nixon administration has exploited the prisoner of war issue in a particularly shabby way, charging the North Vietnamese with the greatest barbarism in modern history, and the press has been remarkably uncritical of Administration accounts.

Reading the Dudman book, seeing how well guarded he was, I have a sense again that perhaps the luckiest thing for the prisoners was the fact the intelligence was so bad during the Terry-and-the-Pirates raid at Sontay; if there had been prisoners there, the likelihood is that they would have been dead ones at the end of the day.

But the thing is not to get into a great debate on the prisoner issue. The important thing about the book is its feel for the other side: the three sitting and drinking with one off-duty guard who is telling how he got drunk and came back from a party to find he had all his clothes on inside out; one of the veterans of the Tet offensive saying that if they had won the battle he would have wanted the title of Director of Rice Wine Inspection or Minister of Courtship and Marriage; the guard firing at an attacking American helicopter with a captured American M-16 and complaining that if he had had a Chinese AK-47 he would have brought it down; the guard who at the end gives them a message for Senator Fulbright that wherever there is poverty and oppression there will be war, and who later changes his mind, apparently after talking with a superior and tells them "before you give that message to Senator Fulbright I would like to check it with my superiors because I am just an ordinary soldier." It is all like that, simple, unpretentious and very human.

David Halberstam

The Indochina Hemorrhage

A collection of articles on the war in Indochina, reprinted from *The New Republic*, is now available as a 92-page booklet. Included are articles by Hans J. Morgenthau, Philip Balboni, Townsend Hoopes, Stanley Hoffmann, Henry Steele Commager and the editors of *NR*.

Price (incl. postage and handling):

1-9 – one dollar a copy
10-50 – 85 cents
over 50 – 75 cents

Address orders to:
The New Republic
1244 19th St., NW
Washington, DC 20036

THE NEW REPUBLIC'S SUMMER 'CIVILISATION' TOURS OF EUROPE

* 23-DAY European Adventure (England, France, Italy, Germany, Holland) based on Sir Kenneth Clark's best-selling book, Civilisation.

* There'll be a maximum of thirty in your party . . . with an experienced escort, your personal "Baedeker" . . . to contribute to your knowledge and comfort.

* You'll be staying in traditional hotels and inns . . . adding to your feeling of being "in" a country, not just passing through.

* $895 for 22 days absorbing the sights, sounds and sense of Europe. You'll fly BOAC to London and KLM to New York from Amsterdam. You'll be travelling through Europe in motor coach so you'll really "see" what's going on (long distances by air, of course). Two meals a day (breakfast only in London), 3 special gourmet meals, all tips, transfers . . . the works! Departures from New York, July 3, July 17, July 31, August 28, PLUS a complimentary copy of Kenneth Clark's Civilisation as your guide book when you reserve your space.

SEND FOR COMPLETE DETAILS TODAY! RESERVATIONS LIMITED TO 30 PERSONS PER TRIP.

The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Send complete information of The New Republic's Civilisation Tours.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE NUMBER _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notable

Women at Yale by Janet Lever and Pepper Schwartz

(Bobbs-Merrill; $6.95)

There are a few dirty jokes here, and some interesting local information, such as which colleges at Yale favor drugs, and which ones alcohol. There is also plenty of youthful energy. The authors are young graduate students and have their eyes on clock and headline; so that except for a dismal and inaccurate prefatory chapter on what it was like at Yale back in the old days (not yet two years past) Before Woman, the volume reads like a current issue of *Look*. Old Yale grads may take offense that their holy place should be attacked by Woman and Social Science simultaneously; and in fact there is something fatuous in the book's subtitle: "Liberating a College Campus" – one might argue instead that the campus has been newly enslaved by sex and pollsters – but the feelings of Yale men have been hurt before, and anyway, if it's any satisfaction, the authors are largely pro-Yale. After knocking male chauvinism around, and making mudpies of what is left of the "monosexual" institution that was, they come out sounding like old grads themselves.

Miss Lever and Miss Schwartz would have done well to remind themselves on each page that Yale did not invent coeducation. Yale's excitement about this innovation will wear thin fast on any coeducationally-oriented reader, as will the authors' extraordinary preoccupation with how smart and talented Yalies of both sexes are. Old male Yalies have not been wanting in smugness: now liberation seems to consist of passing the smugness on to young females.

What the authors are not smug about is Women's Lib. They are puritanical crusaders here, and counteract their dubious measurement of a campus pulse with a reforming zeal that must make the Yale graduate school a most uneasy domicile, now, for old-line scholars.

Rules for Radicals by Saul Alinsky

(Random House; $6.95)

Saul Alinsky is the best known community organizer in America today. He's the one who saved the Back of the Yards and the Woodlawn ghettoes in Chicago when they were threatened by the power structure, who kept Kodak from displacing the residents of a Rochester ghetto, and who proved to many another poor community around the country that power to the people is more than a slogan.

His new book, a revolutionary manual for people who believe that the system can be saved from within, is predictably full of good advice backed up by instances drawn from his own extensive experience. Some of the chapters include, "Tactics," "Communication," and "Ways and Means," and could well have been used, for example, during the recent MAYDAY Week demonstrations in Washington. Yet halfway through the book the reader may find himself repeating the same silent complaint, "But that's obvious," and saying to himself, "Any reasonable man would come to the same conclusion using common sense." Granted that the reasonable man is a legal fiction, and that common sense is hardly common, one still feels cheated by the preponderance of platitude.

Also, the book instructs in a way that is often distracting and sometimes downright annoying. Alinsky is a living underground institution, a folk hero with attendant myths, and he cannot resist the urge to pat himself on the back. Far too often there are passages that show little boy Saul come blow his own horn.

Now this is not always bad, for sometimes the tune he plays is catchy, as in this example:

> And yet the organizer must try not to fake it. He must be himself. I remember a first meeting with Mexican-American leaders in a California barrio where they served me a special Mexican dinner. When we were halfway through I put down my knife and fork saying, "My God! Do you eat this stuff because you have to? I think it's as lousy as the Jewish kosher crap I had to eat as a kid!" There was a moment of shocked silence and then everybody roared. Suddenly barriers began to come down as they all began talking and laughing. They were so accustomed to the Anglo who would rave about the beauty of Mexican food even though they knew it was killing him . . . that it was a refreshingly honest experience to them. The incident became a legend to many and you would hear them say, for instance, "He has as much use for that guy as Alinsky has for Mexican food."

The point is a good one, but would have been better if someone else had told it.

Negritude: Black Poetry from Africa and the Caribbean, edited and translated from the French by Norman R. Shapiro

(October House; $7.50)

The worldwide struggle by blacks for freedom goes on – generating all the while stretches and stretches of rhetoric. Gullible and masochistic but well-to-do whites can always be depended upon to pay heed, accept uncritically what one or another propagandist or political confidence man has in his bag of tricks. Slogans come and go, as do fashionable theorists, whose books may well be bought more than read, let alone understood. Meanwhile certain black writers struggle honestly and passionately to make sense of their race's past, and not least, the destiny an awakened people seems to be struggling for. It is a pity such writers are not paid more attention, though one can be reasonably certain that the African and Caribbean "poets of négritude" whose words Norman Shapiro has sensitively translated never in the first place expected to have a "mass audience." Indeed some of those poets knew well that they

BOOK COLLECTORS!
Our worldwide contacts help build your collection. All fields, A to Izzard.
Book Landman
1615 Montana, Santa Monica, California 90403

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER
Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were spokesmen *for* such an audience – for millions of frustrated, desperate but hopeful men and women.

And how these black poets do sing and shout and cry – and insist, always insist; they insist that for all the sadness and soreness and meanness blacks have known over the centuries, something important and really quite beautiful has survived, a heritage of sorts, a people's spirit. Sō Léon Damas speaks sharply and bitterly; Léopold Senghor grandly; the Haitian René Depestre mercilessly; and others hopefully or wistfully or with real humor and gentleness. Yes, there are sullen and bombastic moments, and cliches appear, and banalities are to be found, as well as inflated appeals to nationalism if not downright racial jingoism. Yet one meets up with a literate and human poetic tradition, deeply affected but by no means overwhelmed by political and social, not to mention racial considerations – which is to say that many of the "poets of négritude" are poets, period.

They Became What They Beheld Photographed by Ken Heyman, Written by Edmund Carpenter

(Outerbridge & Dienstfrey/Ballantine; $3.95)

Among the ineffables of the new world is a delight in large truths and a distaste for the small stuff enroute. Anyone over fourteen can (and does) mouth at least one large truth a day, and almost anyone over fourteen can get a collection of mouthings printed so long as they are (a) extravagant and (b) accompanied by pictures. The precedents for this new publishing fashion are many, some being most prestigious (W. H. Auden, for example, has been having a go at the apothegm in his seventh decade, and he is in truth a man of large truths); and the most prestigious of all is Marshall McLuhan.

When McLuhan announced the end of printing a few years back he also, inferentially, announced the end of the age of scholarship and the beginning of the age of pronouncement. *They Became What They Beheld* is a good example of the new age. Edmund Carpenter is a McLuhan disciple and acknowledges his debt. In large measure the book consists of tips on how to make it. To make it one must make it new – or at least tip-top current. To make it new one must work hard to be preliterate or postliterate, and one must "declassify" constantly (like, stealing letters from dean's desks), and one must go tribal because, among other things, "our electronic nerve endings now reach every part of the world," and one must forget the old futile individualism.

Did you know that today "lovemaking is primarily by touch and smell," so that "the *Playboy* nude appears as remote as sculpture"? Did you know that "under electricity, point of view gave way to total awareness"? that today's women "imitate light bulbs on TV sets"? that "for centuries the power structure kept the middle class impotent by forcing them to exhaust their limited resources by buying a succession of new clothes"? that "in Eskimo the word to make poetry is the word to breathe"? Poor old literate, specialist, individualist man knew none of this, of course; but he is nearly gone now, having been replaced by such visionaries as the Beatles and Buckminster Fuller. The model now is Alice, who said, "I'm never sure what I'm going to be, from one minute to another."

A Citizen's Guide To Nuclear Power

Ralph E. Lapp's three-part series on the nuclear plant controversy and Mr. Lapp's earlier article "Where Will We Get the Energy?" are now available as a 60-page booklet, including a previously unpublished introduction by the author. Price (incl. postage and handling):

1-9 – 85 cents per copy
10-50 – 75 cents
over 50 – 65 cents

Address orders to:
The New Republic
1244 19th St., NW,
Washington, DC 20036

COMING

Charles Samuels
on
Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

THE NEW REPUBLIC'S

'EVOLUTION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT'

TOURS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

(featuring 8 days in New Guinea)

* You'll visit Fiji, New Zealand, Australia, New Guinea and Hong Kong . . . a fascinating view of the different cultures and governments found in this beautiful and exciting part of the world.

* A maximum of 18 will be in your party . . . and you'll be escorted by qualified academician whose knowledge of these governments will make the trip more meaningful and interesting. You'll meet government officials (when available), visit houses of government.

* You'll be staying in traditional hotels and inns everywhere . . . so you'll feel a "part" of the area you're visiting . . . not just passing through.

* You'll take a fascinating dug-out canoe trip in New Guinea, visit native villages and dine on native foods . . . this will truly be an adventure not to miss.

* $1995 all inclusive 26 days with overseas flights QANTAS Airlines . . . air fare, traditional first class hotels and inns, bed and breakfast (all meals in New Guinea), transfers, tips . . . departures from San Francisco, June 21, July 19, August 23, September 20.

SEND FOR COMPLETE DETAILS AND ITINERARY TODAY. REMEMBER, RESERVATIONS LIMITED TO 18 PERSONS PER TRIP.

The New Republic
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Send complete information of The New Republic's Pacific Tours.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE NUMBER _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personals

"KERRY FOR PRESIDENT" Bumper Stickers. 4/$1.00. Imperatives. Box 221, Montpelier, Vt. 05602.

SMART AND PRETTY CALIFORNIAN, mid-thirties, seeks intellectual Jewish man. New Republic Box 4920.

BRAINWAVE FEEDBACK Electroencephalophone. Information 10¢. J&J Enterprises, 8102-R, Bainbridge, Wash. 98110.

WE'RE BIRCH WATCHERS. Also Hargis, Nazis, KKK, etc. From infamous Orange County. 16 pages monthly. $5 year. Sample 50¢. Need your support. The Dixon Line, Box 278, Los Alamitos, California.

5000 Year Old "KEY OF LIFE" Jewelry — Gold and Silver replicas, color card 25¢. Aladdin House, Ltd., Dept. 21, 648 Ninth Ave., N.Y. 10036.

GET YOUR DUMP NIXON KIT. 2 Dump Nixon buttons, 1 Dump Nixon bumper sticker—send $1 (no C.O.D.) to Campaign '72, P.O. Box 449, New York, N.Y. 10008.

VERMONT SUMMER ARTS CENTER, formerly at Goddard College, now at Lyndon State College, June 27-August 21. Chamber music, visual arts, crafts, dance. Find old friends and new in Vermont hills. Write: Bluma Jacobs, Director, Lyndon State College, Lyndonville, Vermont 05851.

HARPSICHORD—Completely new design six feet long with either one, two, or three sets of strings. Kits from $175; also completed instruments. Clavichord kit from $100. Write for free brochure. Zuckermann Harpsichords, Inc., Department P, 160 Sixth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10013.

MACK's EARPLUGS, SLEEP study, work, Pillow soft. Guaranteed. $1.00 ppd. Eyeshade $2.98. McKeon Products Company, Dept. NR, 23220 Ithaca Street, Oak Park, Michigan 48237.

PUT ANTI-POLLUTION PUNCHES INTO YOUR CORRESPONDENCE with our Anti-Pol Rubber Stamp Pak. Four stamps $3.00. Quantity discount list included. Spectrum Rubber Stamps, 1619 Pineview Rd., Charleston, South Carolina 20407.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception.—AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles 90036.

DO YOU LIKE top grade name-imprinted stationery? Send 25¢ for big, idea-packed sample assortment. Shows beautiful rainbow colors, unusual type faces. Social-professional uses. JACQUES, Room 1N, 328 East 25th, New York, N.Y. 10010.

KODACOLOR PRICE-BREAKTHROUGH—Perfect prints, 8 or 12 exposure rolls $2: 20 exposure $3. Full credit unprintable negatives. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $2 and film or write for free mailer. Mystic Color Lab. Box R-144, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

WHAT'S UP DOWN UNDER—Clearest, most complete, accurate and up-to-date Australia information package, $1.50. Information Bureau Publications, 213 Garden Road, Towson, Md. 21204.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS. Send writing sample and $10 to Elizabeth King, 41 East 29th Street, New York, New York 10016.

MUSKIE 72, bumperstickers 4/$1.00, buttons 5/$1.00. MUSKIE, 375 Buena Vista, Bridgeport, Conn. 06604.

LEGAL, PLEASANT, HIGH. Amplify love, and music with INDIAN HERB. Brew like tea. 1/4 lb. $8.50. Kilo $60.00. Send check or M.O. ODYSSEY IMPORTS, Box 145, Conway, Mass. 01341.

AMAZING OVERLOOKED GOVERNMENT LAND BARGAINS. Exciting facts $1.00—Landsearch, Box FD-3, Belmont, California 94002.

"HAROLD HUGHES in '72". Bumperstickers and buttons 4/$1; newsletter available. STUDENTS FOR HUGHES, Box 668, Los Angeles, California 90053.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

Peace Personals

WORLD PEACE requires ESPERANTO text, record loaned FREE. Esperanto Library, DEPTNR. Middleton, Wisconsin 53562.

POSTERS (over 300, many anti-war) BUTTONS (over 175) PATCHES, BUMPERSTICKERS & other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue *with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order)*. A BIG LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission St., San Francisco, 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Please state intended use for appropriate samples. Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 8551 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 63114. Phone (314) 423-5495.

Literature

COOPERATIVE ANTHOLOGY OF LYRIC POETRY being published. Send inquiry: Room 29, 1126 Granville, Chicago 60626.

SUCCESSFUL BOOKFINDERS. No fee. BOOKPOST, 1465H Neptune, Leucadia, California 92024.

BEST BOOKFINDERS IN NEW YORK: ORSAY BOOKS, 86-32 N. Eliot Ave., Rego Park, New York City 11374.

COMMUNES, U.S.A. — comprehensive guide to communes (Religious, Scientific, Group Marriage), Extensive bibliographies, Alternative Organizations, $4.00. Alternatives-NR, Drawer A, San Francisco, 94131.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press, Dept. RZR, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

WRITERS — "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11001.

Schools

MONTESSORI INSTITUTE OF ATLANTA teacher training course for teaching children 2½-7 now accepting applications for September 1971. Accreditation and diploma granted: Association Montessori Internationale. Write P.O. Box 52602, Atlanta, Georgia 30305.

QUAKER STUDY CENTER—Suburban Philadelphia. Seminars on Quakerism, poetry, Buber, religious community, social change, nonviolence, and crafts. Write: D. R. Fradley, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania 19086.

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organization named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS—Specializing in difficult cases—undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate, dental. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900.

Summer Schools

ATHENIAN SCHOOL SUMMER PROGRAM. On Campus and in the field. 4 separate courses—*Intensive Spanish:* 27 days on Campus, 19 in Mexico. *Art Workshop:* 3 & 5 weeks, drawing, weaving, macrame, printmaking, sculpture, potting & film; extensive field trips. *Drama Workshop:* acting, set design, production, back stage field trips, five weeks. Begin June 20. *Wilderness Training:* 5 weeks begin July 11, backpacking and climbing Wind River & Tetons of Wyoming, river rafting down Colorado. Boarding co-ed ages 13-18. Beautiful campus at foot of Mt. Diablo. Write B. Harvey, The Athenian School, Danville, Calif. 94526.

Camps

WILDERNESS EXPEDITIONS in remote regions of northern Maine and Quebec. Backpacking and canoeing. Trip One: June 26-July 24; Trip Two: July 17-Aug. 14; Trip Three: July 31-Aug. 28; Coed. Juniors: 9-13. Seniors: 14-20. Cost per trip: $425. Contact: Redington Pond School, Box 109, Rangeley, Maine 04970 or call Cambridge office: 617-491-6530.

Employment Opportunities

A PERSON WITH AN ADVENTUROUS SPIRIT and the ability to tolerate a harsh environment is needed to direct a consumer controlled health corporation in rural Southwestern Alaska, near the Bering Sea. The program involves the training of native people as village health aides, eye care assistants and health educators. In addition the health corporation is developing a unified health care delivery system for 50 native villages, (about 15,000 people), in an area of 100,000 square miles. This area has some of the worst health statistics, travel and communication problems of anywhere in the country. A background in administration with experience in community or public health is necessary. Salary will be determined on the basis of experience and previous income. If you are interested please send your resume to the: Yukon-Kuskokwin Health Corporation, P.O. Box 536, Bethel, Alaska 99559.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PHYSICIANS—To serve one, two or more years as clinicians in Appalachia; opportunities range from isolated counties without doctors to sophisticated group practices; non-profit facilities and services provide dialogue and development with forward-looking colleagues and community groups; teaching affiliations available; modern medical care concerns; good salary and fringe benefits, reply with curriculum vitae to Health Commission, Council of the Southern Mountains, College Box 2307, Berea, Kentucky 40403.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 942-N, Belmont, California 94002.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1971 Government Information and Forms—Most Complete Information Available—$1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

JOBS! OVERSEAS-U.S.A. Year-round and Summer Jobs. Jobs with Money, Challenge, Opportunity, Travel. All occupations and trades. Write: JOBSCOPE, Box 746, NR, Woodbridge, California 95258.

OVERSEAS JOBS. High Pay, Travel, Adventure. Directory of Over 100 American Firms Now Hiring for Overseas Projects. $1.00. TRANSWORLD, Box 90802-EE, International Airport, Los Angeles, California 90009.

HIGHER EDUCATION; SECONDARY EDUCATION; SOCIAL - ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. New approach. Comprehensive. Current, Nationwide. Directories of Positions. All fields. Write Intercept-Sociocom, Box 317, Harvard Square P.O., Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

PHYSICIANS AND NURSES NEEDED IMMEDIATELY to staff HEW-funded Migrant Health Center and OEO-funded Family Planning Clinics. Excellent opportunity for social change-minded persons interested in working in non-traditional medical setting. KCLM Health Committee, 226½ Bernard Street, Bakersfield, Calif. 93305. (805) 322-4027.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU—New 1971 Australian Handbook describing free passage, employment opportunities, business, farming, teaching etc. $1.00. Employment directories: Australian businesses $1.00. U.S. businesses there $1.00. All three $2.00. (550 employers listed.) Buckeye, Box 1032NK, Fairborn, Ohio 45324.

Property-Sale/Rent

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—ON LOVELY LARGE STREAM. Beautiful two-acre forested parcels. A unique plan, very small, private, with natural beauty preserved by restrictions. Excellent riding, swimming, fishing and dramatic mountain view. Year around paved access. No bulldozers, costly promotion or hard sell. Sierras, between Almanor and Antelope Lakes. Write owner, H. Page, Taylorsville, California.

GOVERNMENT LANDS . . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

NORTH LAKE TAHOE—Incline Village, Nevada. Brand new, unfurnished, spacious 2-bedroom condominium ready for lease July. Sundeck, 2 baths, 2 fireplaces—living room and master suite. Dishwasher, disposal, washer-dryer. Year round facilities—private beach, boating, swimming pool, sauna—tennis, golf, skiing at special rates. $325/month plus utilities on 18-month lease. Donald L. Field, 500 Cribari Bend, San Jose, California 95135. 408-274-5055.

Vacations/Travel

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTERS in the Catskills and White Mountains offer a unique vacation experience of recreation and mental stimulation. Through dialogue among people of different backgrounds, films and speakers, a global view and wholistic approach to life emerge. For information, write World Fellowship, Conway, N.H. 03818 or Kerhonkson, N.Y. 12446.

"JAPAN'S RESPONSE TO ITS ENVIRONMENT"—study-tour for professionals—Aug. 14-Sept. 11, including the "Tokyo Conference." I.R.D. 1750 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138—(617) 876-7155.

AUTO BABYSITTERS. INDOOR parking. Rates LOWER than outdoor airport/pier parking. Pick-up/delivery. Branches throughout NYC, Savoy Garages, 827 Sterling Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216 (212) 493-9800.

WINDJAMMER VACATION — Sail from Rockland, Maine, to picturesque islands and harbors in Penobscot Bay. $140 weekly. Brochure. Schooner RICHARD ROBBINS, West Bath, Maine. Phone (207) 443-5805.

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK. 1,100 organizations named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 655 Sutter Street.

LINEKIN BAY SAILING RESORT. Fleet of sailboats, two-masted schooner, heated pool, water skiing. Write for folder. Boothbay Harbor, Maine.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravLtips, 40-21, JGA, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

CAMPSITES — UNCROWDED, UNSPOILED. All activities. Box 432, Watertown, Connecticut 06795.

SWISS RESORT. AAA. Nature, Peace, Beauty. Swimming, sports. Modern comfort; excellent library; Swiss cuisine. Snowvillage Lodge, Snowville, NH 03877. Tel. Conway 603-447-2818.

NO HECTIC "ORGANIZED" ACTIVITIES, children's haven, erudite clientele, informal family vacations, Lake Shore Resort, Northwood, New Hampshire 03261.

Greenery

BONSAI (DWARF) TREES. America's oldest growers of aged Bonsai. Free catalogue. HEIROB BONSAI NURSERY, Hampton, Livingston Manor, New York 12758.

BONSAI: ZELKOVA NIRE, WIRED, POTTED (CLAY), $25.00, plus $3.00 shipping. Illustrated catalogue 25¢. SAKASHIMAYA, Grahamsville, New York 12740.

Cookery

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 16, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

BEER, like bread, is better homemade. New Homebrew Kit makes it for 2¢ a bottle. Easy step by step manual, and hydrometer for perfect carbonation. $3.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Evinco-C, Box 1432, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

WINEMAKING KIT . . . $4.98. Free recipes—Catalog. JIMDANDY, Box 30230-XX, Cincinnati, Ohio 45230.

Arts and Crafts

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

COLLECT FINE ORIGINAL ETCHINGS and lithographs by the world's great artists including *Rembrandt, Picasso, Rouault, Soyer, Landau* and Florsheim. Free illustrated catalogue and Master Print Supplement. (Mail 25¢ for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

Sports Equipment

LIGHTWEIGHT BACKPACK AND MOUNTAINEERING EQUIPMENT. Imported, Domestic Canoes and Kayaks for day trips, voyageuring, or white-water. Free catalog. MOOR & MOUNTAIN, Dept. 44, Main St., Concord, Mass. 07142.

Records/Tapes

DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION, CRIMINAL JUSTICE, etc. Cassette or reel. Free catalog. Audio Venture, Canaan, N.Y. 12029.

FREE 64 PAGE CATALOG Offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance Baroque and Classical music. Introductory records as low as $1.00 each! All late recordings. In Stereo only. MHS Records, Box 932-NR, New York 10023.

Music

EASY TO PLAY AND MAKE instruments. Thumb Pianos $10, kit $5; Dulcimers now $45 up, kits $18 up; Psalteries, Banjos; Dulcimer book, record; HERE, INC., #N, Box 341, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440.

GUITARISTS—Too busy to practice? Five minutes weekly teaches folk strums, barres, melody. Beginner — advanced. Samples 10¢. Steel's, Box 114, San Rafael, California 94902.

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS—Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt 3, Paoli, Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 60c
Per word 6 times in one contract year .. 55c
Per word 12 times in one contract year .. 50c
Per word 24 times in one contract year .. 45c
Per word 48 times in one contract year .. 40c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Printed by Merkle Press, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS

PUBLISHERS FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW

Education

David E. Austin, Velma B. Clark, and Gladys W. Fitchett; *Reading Rights for Boys: Sex Role in Language Experience*

Emerald Dechant; *Detection and Correction of Reading Difficulties: Readings with Commentary*

F. Anthony De Jovine; *The Young Hero in American Fiction: A Motif for Teaching Literature*

Dorris M. Lee and R. V. Allen; *Learning to Read through Experience, Second Edition*

Stanley Lehrer; *Leaders, Teachers, and Learners in Academe: Partners in the Educational Process*

Jean Malmstrom and Janice Lee; *Teaching English Linguistically: Principles and Practices for High School*

Walter T. Perry and Mary E. Bowen; *Slithery Snakes and Other Aids to Children's Writing*

Wilma A. Possien; *They All Need to Talk: Oral Communication in the Language Arts Program*

Forthcoming—

The New Century Series in Urban Education, edited by Janice Gibson

David W. Champagne and Richard M. Goldman; *Teaching Parents of Educationally Disadvantaged Children*

Marvin F. Daley and Lanny E. Morreau; *Principles of Behavior Management for Classrooms*

Nancy Dixon; *Designing Measurable Teaching Goals*

Ann D. Duncan; *Precision Teaching*

Janice Gibson; *Experiencing the Inner City*

Nancy J. Johnson; *Teach and Do: A Reading Workbook*

Helen F. Robison and Sydney L. Schwartz; *Learning at an Early Age: A Programmed Text to Prepare Teachers for Young Urban Learners*

Helen F. Robison and Sydney L. Schwartz; *Curriculum for Learning at an Early Age: A Program to Heighten Intellectual and Language Development*

Social Science

Joseph L. Albini; *The American Mafia: Genesis of a Legend*

Peter L. Berger; *Marxism and Sociology: Views from Eastern Europe*

Mary Frances Berry; *Black Resistance/White Law: A History of Constitutional Racism in America*

Alvin L. Bertrand; *Basic Sociology: An Introduction to Theory and Method*

John F. Cuber; *Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles, Sixth Edition*

Robert F. Cushman; *Leading Constitutional Decisions, Fourteenth Edition*

Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaher; *The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America*

Jack D. Douglas; *The Relevance of Sociology*

George E. Frakes and Curtis B. Solberg; *Pollution Papers*

Samuel Hendel; *The Politics of Confrontation*

Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie; *The Sociology of Social Problems, Fourth Edition*

Stanford Lyman and Marvin B. Scott; *A Sociology of the Absurd*

Robert D. Marcus and David Burner; *The American Scene: Varieties of American History*

James L. Peacock and A. Thomas Kirsch; *The Human Direction: An Evolutionary Approach to Social and Cultural Anthropology*

Forthcoming—

Rodney P. Carlisle; *Prologue to Liberation: A History of the Black People*

APPLETON-CENTURY-CROFTS
Educational Division
MEREDITH CORPORATION
440 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED